The "Ruling Chiefs of India" Series—No. I.

BARODA

EDITED BY

C. S. RAGHUNATHA RAO.

With an Introduction

BY

ROMESH CHUNDER DUTT, C.I.E.

Lecturer in Indian History at University College, London.
Late Commissioner of Orrissa and Member
of the Bengal Legislative Council.
Late Revenue Minister of Baroda.

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Armenian Street,

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H. H. THE MAHARAJAH SAYAJI RAO, GAEKWAR OF BARODA.

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INTRODUCTION.

His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda took the administration of his State into his own hands in 1881, *and the twenty-fifth anniversary of that event was celebrated last cold weather in all the Districts of the State by his grateful and loyal subjects. The writer of the following pages has therefore chosen a suitable time to bring out a brief and appreciative account of His Highness' administration.*

Special attention is paid in the following pages to the spread of education in Baroda. The Maharaja's strong conviction, that popular and universal education is the basis of all reforms and advancement, is well known; and the experiment of introducing free *and* compulsory *education is being tried at Baroda, and has, so far, met with remarkable success.*

In some other matters too, His Highness has undertaken bold measures of reform. The marriage of boys and girls under a certain age has been prohibited by law; the functions of Judicial and Executive Officers in the State have been separated; and a system of Self-Government, based on elections, has been developed, with a special view to preserve and strengthen the autonomy of Village Communities and to link them as administrative units with the Taluka Board and the District Board.

There is much that is instructive and suggestive in the administration of an advanced Native State; and the following brief account of the modern progress of one of the foremost States in India, under an enlightened and patriotic Ruler, will, I hope receive the attention it deserves.

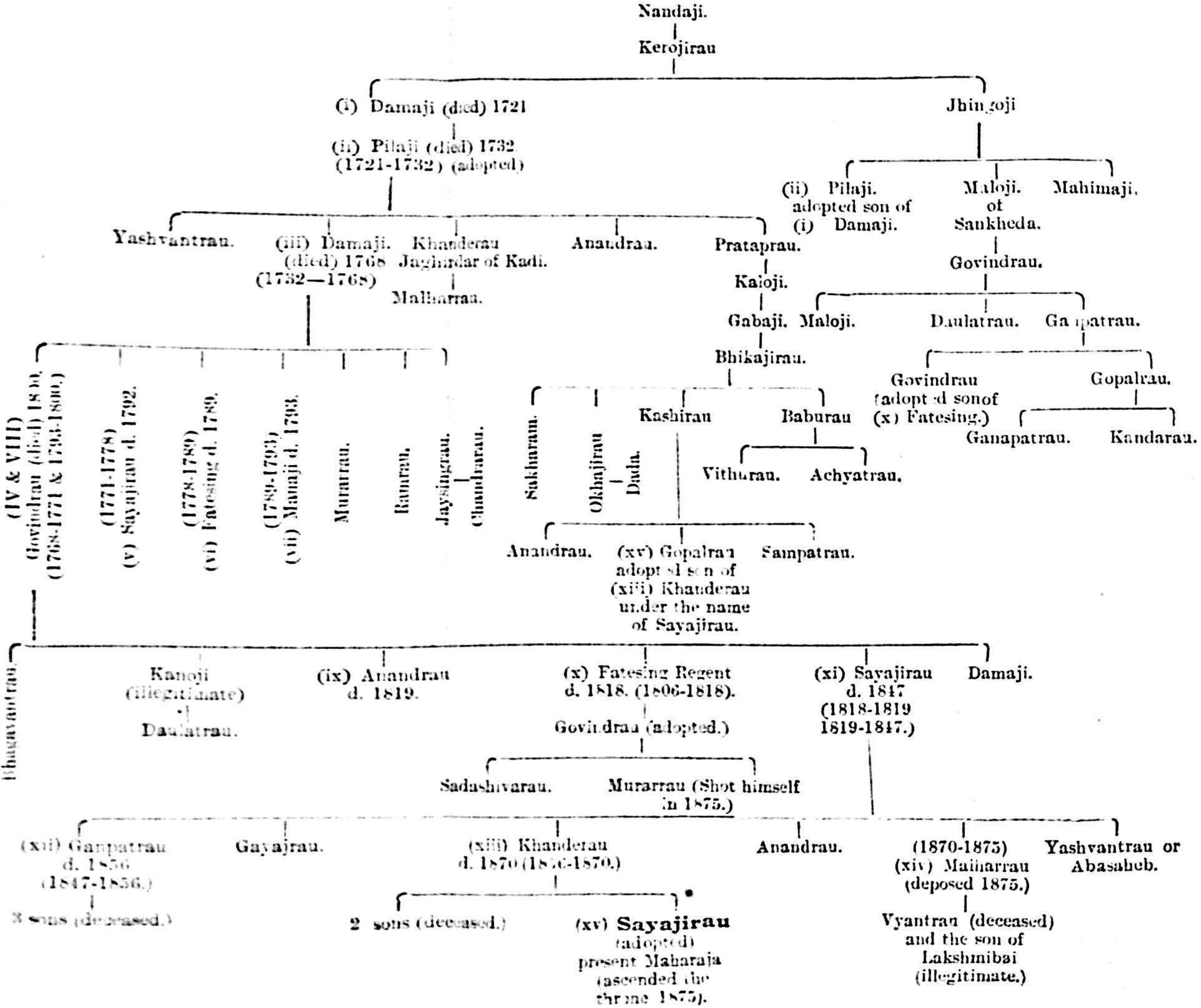
MADRAS.
December 2nd, 1907.

ROMESH C. DUTT.

[*From the "Bombay Gazetteer" Vol.* 8.]

FAMILY TREE OF THE GAEKWAR.

(*The Roman numerals show the order of Succession.*)



BARODA.

The territories under the sway of His Highness the Maharajah Gaekwar lie between 20°—45′ and 21°—42′ north latitude and between 70°—45′ and 71°—22′ east longitude, excepting Okhamandal which is situated between 22°—28′ north latitude and between 68°—58′ and 69°—14′ east longitude. The State is divided into four distinct blocks quite apart from each other. The area of the whole State was returned in the last census (1901) as 8,099 square miles, with a population of 1,952, 692 souls, of which 1, 008, 634 are males and 944,058 females. Over three-fourths of the entire population are Hindus. The Musalmans number a little over one-tenth of the Hindus. So many as 1,76,250 are returned as "animistic". The Jains number 48, 290 and Christians 7, 691. The Revenue of the State, according to the latest figures available, is Rs. 1,40,00,000. The total strength of the army (exclusive of Police) maintained at the cost of the State is :—

	Effective	Non-effective
Infantry	2,882	129
Cavalry	1,310	81
Artillery	63	57

The grand total of expenditure in the Military Department, including pensions and gratuities, and the annual commutation money paid to the British Government, comes to about Rs. 21,60,191. The strength of the police is 4, 660 which costs the State about Rs. 6,35,796. The pay of the police has been recently revised, so as to attract better recruits.

Among the sights is the Palace built after a design by Mr. R. F. Chisholm.

The great rivers that water the northern division of the State are the Narbadha, the Tapti and the Mahi. The central division

surrounding the capital of the State yields large crops of valuable cotton. The two principal forts are Songarh—which was once the Gaekwar's head-quarters—and Saler.

The rulers of Baroda all bear the title of Gaekwar. The standard of the Gaekwar is of red and white stripes. Sir John Malcolm says that these were originally the colors of the Bande family and were afterwards adopted as a token of respect by his followers the Gaekwar and by the chiefs of the Holkar family.

His Highness Maharajah Sayaji Rao (III), Gaekwar of Baroda, is descended from Pratap Rao, the brother of Damaji Gaekwar, the first member of the family mentioned in history, who specially distinguished himself at the battle of Balapur in 1721, and on the recommendation of the Senapati, or Commander-in-chief of the Maharatta army, was made his lieutenant under Rajah Shahu of Satara. He was born on the 17th March 1863, in a village in Khandesh. The ruler of Baroda at that time was Maharaja Khande Rao, who gave valuable help to the British Government during the Mutiny. Under his brother and successor, Malhar Rao Gaekwar, the State was shamefully misgoverned and the subjects were brought into a pitiable state of misery. The Gaekwar was repeatedly admonished by the British Government, but to no avail. He was suspected of having instigated an attempt to poison the British Resident, Colonel Phayre, C. B. On the 13th January 1875, the Government of India issued a Proclamation notifying that the Gaekwar had been arrested and that the British Government had assumed the administration of the State on behalf of the Queen, pending the result of an enquiry into the conduct of Malhar Rao. The Commission submitted their Report on the 15th April 1875, to the Secretary of State for India and their recommendations were :—

(1) to depose the Maharaja ;

(2) to invite Sir T. Madhava Row to conduct the administration ;

(3) to request Her Highness Maharani Jamnabhai, widow of Khande Rao, to adopt from the Gaekwar family a son who might at once ascend the *Gadi*.

Malhar Rao was deposed from sovereignty in obedience to orders received from Her Majesty's Government, who, in communicating the same, wrote to say that the step was imperatively called for "not because Government have assumed that the result of the enquiry has been to prove the truth of the imputation against His Highness, but because having regard to all the circumstances relating to the affairs of Baroda, from the accession of His Highness Malhar Rao, his notorious misconduct, his gross misgovernment of the State, and his evident incapacity to carry into effect necessary reforms."

Her Highness Jamnabhai returned to Baroda on the 2nd May 1875 and on the 27th of May formally adopted as the son and heir of Khande Rao, a lad of thirteen years of age (the present Gaekwar), who by descent was entitled to represent the Gaekwar's house. On the 28th December 1881, during the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon, His Highness was invested with full powers, in the presence of the Rt. Honorable Sir James Ferguson, Bart., Governor of Bombay, who on the occasion represented H. E. the Viceroy. The event that was enthusiastically celebrated last year, not only in the Gaekwar's dominions, but throughout India, was the Silver Jubillee of the investiture.

The young prince was very carefully brought up and was placed under the best tutors. Mr. F. A. H. Elliot, C.I.E., an English Civilian of considerable parts, was his first English tutor. A little school was formed, with a few companions of suitable rank and the prince was made to submit himself to six years of rigorous application and self-restraint. He early acquired a taste for learning and the anecdotes of his boyhood offered ample testimony to the sagacity, the urbanity and the magnanimity which form such prominent features in his character at the present day. He was the dux of his little school and so rapid was the

progress and so extensive were his studies, that within a few years he had mastered all the subjects that had been taught. Added to his general education were such special courses of study as would fit him for his work as ruler of the State. Rajah Sir T. Madhava Row, to whom was entrusted the government during his minority, lectured to him on various subjects connected with administration. The knowledge thus acquired by him of the details of administration has stood him in good stead. There are few Native Princes in India to-day with a greater aptitude for business than the present Gaekwar, and the secret of his success is largely due to the close "continual vigilance" which he exercises and to the energy and industry with which he applies himself to his duties. When in 1875, His Highness was taken to Bombay to meet the Prince of Wales, his appearance is thus described by an eye-witness: "Here we may note what to a European may seem one of the most marvellous features of the whole affair, namely, the wonderful self-possession of the young Gaekwar. This boy, aged twelve years, who a few months ago was only a village lad in comparative poverty, bears himself with perfect composure and dignity, and appears to his inferiors every inch a king, as though he had sat on the *gadi* for half a century; while he fell naturally and with genuine gracefulness into a tone of perfect equality and frank boyish cordiality, well blended with dignity, in his intercourse with the Prince of Wales".

In 1880, His Highness married a Princess of the house of Tanjore. This good and accomplished lady gave birth to Srimunt Yuvaraj Fateh Singh Rao, the heir to the *gadi*, and died shortly after. On the 28th May 1887, on the occassion of laying the foundation stone of the Chimnabai Nyaya Mandir, His Highness, in the course of his address, spoke of the Maharani in these words: "I wish through it to commemorate the virtues of Her late Highness and the admiration I entertained for her—the mild, charitable and amiable woman, the devoted mother, and the loving wife. ....Further, to signalise this day, I now declare all the

remaining transit duties throughout the State to be abolished." His Highness then wedded the present Maharani and she had presented him with three sons and a daughter. In 1887, the Gaekwar, on account of his health, undertook a trip to Europe, accompanied by the Maharani and a numerous suite. They visited the Queen at Windsor, who invested His Highness with the decoration of the Grand Commander of the Star of India, and presented him with a beautiful medallion portrait of herself. For some time, he was residing at Brighton. He undertook a second trip in 1900, accompanied by the Maharani and a third trip in 1905-06. During the second trip, he had the very rare honor of dining with the Queen at Windsor Castle. During his third trip, which has been the longest and the most interesting, he took a very prominent part in English public life. At the Society of Arts, London, he spoke on the subject of Native Princes and their relations with British Political Officers. At a meeting of this Society, when Mr. Tozer of the India Office delivered a lecture, His Highness occupied the chair and Mr. Tozer observed "how prominently His Highness, the Chairman, has stood forth among the princes of India as an advocate of Education, of Social Reform and Industrial Progress."

During his extensive travels, he had an opportunity of studying the various systems of Education in vogue in the most progressive countries of the West. "Never has the importance of Education," writes His Highness in an article contributed to the *East & West*, "been so universally recognised, its nature and principles so closely and intelligently scrutinised, its methods so eagerly discussed and experimented upon; never has its domain been so wide nor have its exponents and apostles been so enthusiastic, numerous and universally respected and heeded. In one or two countries the work is well advanced, in others it is under way, in none but the most barbarous or most backward—a dwindling minority—is it entirely neglected, so that the world will, within measurable time, be face to face with a situation of the

most extraordinary novelty. Instead of a few learned classes in a few chosen nations, it will behold the spectacle of an educated mankind."

In regard to education, His Highness has taken more interest in that than in any other department of administration. A clue to the ideal and policy which he has set for himself is indicated in the following extract from the article referred to previously. Writes His Highness: " In these days when more and more value is attached to public opinion and a fuller and fuller measure of free and responsible activity is conceded to the people, universal education is needed to equip them for their new destinies and responsibilities. It is dangerous to have in these days of democracy an ignorant and, therefore, suffering populace, for such a populace is liable to be moved by the first wind of anarchy and dogmatism, nor can it now-a-days be argued that education is the look-out of the individual, not of the State. It is becoming an axiom of political economy that the provision of education and its supervision is in the main the duty and the most important duty of the State and cannot be either economically or efficiently discharged by scattered unorganised effort." " Time was", he tells us, " when education was an ornament rather than a necessity. But now that it is perceived that education has its indispensable uses as well as its exceeding pleasures, neither the general conscience of mankind nor the particular interest of nations will permit that even the meanest individual, the most insignificant citizen, should be entirely cut off from so inestimable a possession." In the national struggle for life, His Highness tells us, the most powerful lever of progress and the most telling weapon is education and the first duty therefore of a government is the provision of universal education. " The excellence of a government must ", writes His Highness, " be judged not by separate details of its administration, but by the extent to which it gives facilities for the development of all the best human faculties in the people whose destinies it guides, and having

developed them, gives the freest and amplest scope for their exercise under the conditions of a well-ordered society." In 1880-81, there were 180 Vernacular schools in the Baroda State. In 1904-05, there were 1243 schools. In the former year, there were 17,465 pupils; in the latter year 81,649. In 1885, an important order was passed to the effect that 30 new schools should be established during every year and that the department should pay attention to (1) the preparation of a new reading series, (2) physical education of boys, (3) providing female teachers for girl schools, (4) spread of education among the middle and backward classes, (5) organisation of school museums, and (6) increase of Vernacular literature, and that a sum of Rupees fifty to sixty thousand should be spent upon school buildings every year. In 1893, His Highness resolved to give a trial to the scheme of compulsory education and ordered schools to be opened in one taluq. All boys between the ages of 7 and 12 and all girls between the ages of 7 and 10 were compelled to attend school on pain of the parents paying a small fine in case of default. In order that the rule might not press hard on the poor, 40 per cent. of the pupils at first and subsequently all of them were admitted *free*. The idea of extending compulsory education to all parts of the State was present in His Highness' mind for some years and a law for this purpose was passed in July 1904. The age limits for the compulsory attendance of boys have been fixed between 6 and 14, and for girls between 6 and 12. Exemption is granted under certain circumstances, such as to (1) children who are incapacitated by illness or other defect, (2) agricultural children of parents paying assessment below an amount to be fixed, (3) children who receive education at home, (4) Purdah girls and children of classes for whom separate schools are ordinarily provided for in the State, and some others. The Vernacular third Standard has, for the present, been recognised as the limit of compulsory education. Under the law, parents and guardians of children, between the limits of age fixed, failing to send them to school are liable to a fine of one rupee for every

month till the children are sent to school, and fines are also prescribed for absences, &c. In His Highness' own words: "the difficulties prophesied have disappeared under the touch of practical experience". His Highness attributes the success of the measure so far to the "tact and persuasion on the part of the officials and practical good sense of the people".

His Highness has taken special measures for the education of the backward classes. A very lucid description of the measures adopted is given by His Highness himself in the article in the "*East & West*" already referred to. It is therein stated that the proportion of Mahomedan boys who attend school to the total population of the school-going age, has, for the last few years been almost 50 per cent. Special schools for the *Antyaja* or depressed classes have also been opened since 1883. Mr. J. S. Cotton, the compiler of the Quinquennial Review of the progress of education in India, refers thus to the success of the educational experiments in Baroda: "The special attention given to the instruction of low-castes and the introduction of compulsory school-attendance in Amreli are examples of successful experiment. It is also noteworthy that female education is more advanced than in any other part of India". And further: "Comparing, first, the proportion of schools to towns and villages, I find that for Baroda the percentage is 43·41; while for the Bombay Presidency it is 31·80, and for all India 26·47. The proportion of girls' schools alone is 3·19 per cent. for all India. Taking next, the proportion of children at school to the estimated population of school-going age (15 per cent. of the total population), I find that for Baroda the percentage is 25 compared with 12·5 for all India, 16·6 for the Bombay Presidency, 18·34 for the Northern Division of Bombay and 20·44 for Kathiawar. Of girls alone the percentages are 8·6 for Baroda, 2·10 for all India, 3·63 for Bombay, 4·57 for the Northern Division and 3·83 for Kathiawar." His Highness very rightly observes that on the education of these backward classes, the welfare of the community, of which they are a part, depends.

"It is amusing", writes His Highness, "to see some of our people, either from discontent or a habit of talk formed by their education, pose as radicals and republicans; perhaps, if they were to apply their principles first in social matters like these, their political outpourings might not wear the appearance of self-interest or a mere literary exercise. We talk much also of social reform and improvement, but we ought to realise that, once the lower classes are educated, all that so many efforts of individuals and societies and social reform congresses could not accomplish will be swiftly done by the working of natural forces. Otherwise, we may waste long periods of effort, and the result will be little or nothing. Therefore, I hope that our society will take as great a share as it can of the burden of this work, though I fully recognise that in a country, poor like ours, and in no degree self-governing, we must look ultimately and for the larger part of the work to the Government. If there were several Tatas in India to establish Colleges and Institutes for Research, or if there were Carnegies and Rockfellers to vie in educational munificence, the burden might be largely lifted off the State; but there is no reason why private men should not even here follow, according to their means, such high examples of liberality and public spirit."

While emphasising the need of primary and secondary education, His Highness has fully kept himself alive to the claims of Higher Education. The Baroda College was first opened in 1882 and began only with a "Previous" class. It sends up students for the M.A., the B. Sc. Degree in Science and the first LL.B. examination. It is affiliated to the Bombay University. The College has been endowed with about 22 scholarships of which no less than 17 are supplied by the State. Three scholarships of the value of Rs. 20/- each are reserved for Mahomedans. Special scholarships are also maintained for the study of Law, Engineering and Medicine, which are available for Baroda subjects. In addition to these a yearly sum is handed over to the Deccan Association for the purposes of spreading education among the Mahrattas.

His Highness the Maharajah had under consideration the important subject of technical education in his territory since 1886. His attention was directed to the opening of science classes for the Degree of Bachelor of Science, and a Committee was formed in November 1888 to consider and report upon the measures adopted in connection with the establishment of a technical school. Professor Gajjar, M.A., B.SC., was entrusted with the work of drawing up the curricula for the different branches of schools of the Institute. The Central Institution is known as the Kala Bhavan and it is now doing good work. A large workshop is attached to this institution where wood and metal work, colour-dyeing and bleaching of every sort is executed on a business-like scale. The Kala Bhavan is divided into the following schools:—(1) School of Arts: Drawing and Painting, (2) Carpentry, (3) Mechanical Engineering, (4) Dyeing (5) Weaving, and (6) Watch making. Of these, the School of Arts and the School of Mechanical Engineering are recognised by the Bombay Government and the students can get certificates of proficiency after passing the requisite tests. His Highness is always inclined to consult specialists in the matter of technical subjects. In 1898, Prof. Chatterton of the Madras School of Arts was invited to report upon the Kala Bhavan. The services of the late Mr. N. G. Mukerji, the silk expert of the Bengal Government, were borrowed for three months in 1904-05 and arrangements have been made, with his advice, to largely extend sericulture operations in the Naosari District. The industry of pearl fishery being found hopeful on the Dwarka coast, the services of Mr. Hornell of the Ceylon Government were engaged to make enquiries as to its possibilities. Besides, State officers are sent out to study special industries on the spot or take part in exhibitions and conferences. Manual training classes are attached to a few boys' schools to give an impetus to manual work along with literary education.

In regard to the education of women, Baroda is ahead of every other State. Two girls' schools were started in 1875. At the end of a decade the number of schools was 24 and the number of

pupils 1,973. After a further decade the numbers rose to 75 and 7,754 respectively. The number of girls attending girls' schools during the year 1904-05 was 13,113. This gives the proportion of girls receiving instruction at about 10 per cent. of the total number of girls of the school-going age. Embroidery, Drawing and practical Cookery are taught in some schools: also lessons in music in some others. Plain needle-work is taught in all the schools. Some of the Guzerati and Maharathi girl schools in Baroda have also facilities for teaching Sanskrit to the advanced girl schools. Zenana classes are also held for imparting education in reading, writing and accounts to such women, as cannot attend ordinary girl schools. A female Training College was opened in 1882 for training women for the post of school mistresses.

Several young men have been sent to Europe and America, at State expense, for purposes of study. The subjects taken up are (1) Agriculture, (2) Forestry, (3) Medicine and Surgery, (4) Horticulture, (5) Cookery and Kitchen management, (6) Electrical Science, (7) Music, (8) Mechanical Engineering, (9) Practical Engineering and Machine Construction, (10) Chemical analysis, (11) Public and Private Finance, (12) Watch-making, (13) Cabinet making, (14) Law and (15) Pedagogy, &c., &c. Many of those who have successfully gone through the prescribed course have been provided for in the State.

The education of the Gaekwar's children has been well looked after. Prince Fateh Singh Rao has passed the Matriculation Examination of the Bombay University and has completed his education in England. Prince Jeysing Rao, the second son, was at Harrow Public School for some years, and is now in America. Prince Shivaji Rao, the third son, passed the Matriculation Examination of the Bombay University last year, and is prosecuting the collegiate course, in Bombay. Princess Indira, the only daughter, was in Eastbourne school while in England. She now attends the Princes' school at Baroda. The youngest son also attended this school, and now proceeds to Europe to complete his education.

His Highness has made a name for himself as a publicist and as a speaker. The speeches and writings form a literature worthy of record. Apart from the speeches made on ceremonial occasions such as (1) The Investiture (2) Visits of H. E. The Viceroys and Governors (3) Opening of the Sayaji water works, the Sayaji Vihar Club and other functions of local interest, His Highness has delivered several addresses, which comprise a very wide field of interest and information. He actively associated himself with the industrial aspirations of the country by his brilliant address at Ahmedabad in 1902 and the no less brilliant address at the Industrial Conference at Calcutta last year. He delivered the Presidential Address at the Indian National Social Conference in 1904, which shows how thoroughly he has mastered the intricate social problems of the day. These addresses are enough to show the wonderful grasp His Highness has of the burning questions which are engaging the attention of the best intellects of the country.

During a visit to the Chief of Bhor, not very long ago, His Highness made a very interesting speech on the subject of Social Reform. "I think it is a great mistake", he observed, "to get the girls married at their 8th or 9th year without duly thinking over what is really meant by the old Shastras. Some people here will look upon my thoughts as mistaken and narrow. They will pardon me, but I request you should think over your own Shastras and discuss what neccessary changes should be effected so as to suit the present times. Early marriages will never make you rise. Early marriages produce a bad effect upon our wordly career. If you wish for heavenly happiness, and if you think that early marriages have a tendency to produce bad effects, put a stop to them." He pointed out the hollowness of "revival" in matters of Social Reform.

Her Highness the Maharani is an accomplished lady, has travelled much, and has been a life-companion to her husband. She delivered an interesting speech at the Calcutta Mahila Samiti last year.

In spite of his essentially English Education, the Gaekwar has always remained a Hindu to the core. He is a man of very simple tastes and unaffected habits. He has given signal proofs of his liberality and large-heartedness. His purse has always been open to every charitable and philanthropic institution.

Under the rule of this most enlightened, able and active of living Indian rulers, Baroda is becoming a perfectly model state. He is an example which other princes may well try to emulate. Among the Ministers employed by him since the time of Sir T. Madhava Rao, may be named the late Mr. Srinivasa Raghava Iyengar of Madras and Mr. R. C. Dutt of Bengal.

SPEECHES.

I.

[On the 2nd April 1900, at the invitation of the Thakore Sahib of Gondal, H.H. the Gaekwar, with the heir-apparent, Prince Fateh Singh Rao, visited the capital. The Gaekwar presided at the annual function of distribution of prizes to the pupils of the Grasia College and delivered the following interesting speech]:—

YOUR Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have met your Highness more than once before. To-day I am your guest, living under your own roof and in your own territory. I am glad for this opportunity, as it will renew and cement our friendship. It does not remain for me to say, as it has been already testified to by high functionaries and distinguished visitors, that you started this institution with the best of motives. The presence of the boys shows that they share your views and appreciate your efforts. You have sanctioned a large annual expenditure for this school, you have provided it with a beautiful and commodious building and you have supplied it with all the necessary means of imparting instruction. But you have not remained content with this; you have further paid ample personal attention to all its details and organisation. Ultimately the success of the institution must greatly depend upon the ability and interest with which Mr. Moore and his staff discharge their duties. To move the students on to higher principles, and to place before them loftier goals in life must mainly be their steadfast aim. Education without character is not of much consequence. If with all this, the school does not flourish, the fault will not be yours, but will be that of others. The teachers and the students will not, I hope, fail to reap the utmost advantage from this splendid opportunity. No feeling of gratitude will be more welcome to the founder of the institution than to see it is being fully availed of by the students and teachers and that the men turned out by the College are making their mark in different walks of life. You have taken the English Public Schools as a model for your institution. I

do not think you have done wrong in the choice of your ideal. You know that history repeats itself. In providing the school with boarding and lodging, you have only carried out the ancient ideal of your ancestors, which consisted in sending youths to live under the eye and in the association of the "guru." The separation of the boys from unhealthy sorroundings and undesirable associations will be productive of much good. It will be a potent source of creating in them common tastes, interests and aspirations, so as to weld them into a more compact body. As many of the youths turned out by this institution are likely to go in search of public employment it would be not only highly desirable, but, in my opinion, imperative for them that they should be given the necessary facilities at an early stage of their education to enable them to compete successfully with the boys of ordinary schools in their higher educational career. If that is not done, the institution, I am afraid, may not prove to some as attractive as it has every right to be ; and the good and salutary influence of its students may not so easily spread far and wide. The claim of gratitude that His Highness has on his subjects does not rest on this single educational scheme alone ; for he has paid great attention to the improvement of means of communication by the construction of roads, trams and railways, to the organisation of Courts of Civil and Criminal Justice, to the sanitary and medical needs of his subjects, to the foundation of municipalities, to the opening of public parks and recreation grounds, and also for his efforts to improve the drinking water of the city. Whenever in future any able and impartial historian happens to write an account of the Native States, he will find plenty of materials to show how the different States, with the limited means at their disposal and with the men and resources of civilization that they could command, strove to carry out the cause of progress and reform, as understood in the closing years of the 19th century. He would be struck with the immense sacrifices the Native Chiefs have made of their inherited notions and deep-rooted and fondly cherished interests and prejudices to subserve the cause of reform. Considering all the circumstances, it strikes me that the strides made in the cause of good government in many of the States during the last few years have been gigantic and rapid. I do not say that all that is possible has been achieved, but a great deal has been done for which they might naturally feel just exultation. I have always taken

a deep interest in the spread of education amongst all classes, and not far from here, I have made an attempt in starting even compulsory education. the progress of which, I think, deserves close attention and scrutiny. My object in referring to this endeavour is to declare that your Highness could not have chosen a more pleasant task for me to perform in this short stay of mine at Gondal than to ask me to preside at the annual prize distribution at this College. In conclusion, allow me to thank you heartily for the great kindness which we all have experienced at your hands here and which your Highness' subjects and officers, no doubt, are fortunate in experiencing every day.

II.

[On the 29th March 1901, His Highness the Gaekwar distributed the scholarships and other prizes to the successful students of the Grant Medical College, Bombay. He was received by Dr. Hatch, the Principal, and other Professors of the College. In the course of his excellent address, he referred to the particular departments of the students—Science and Medicine and dwelt at length on some of the latest discoveries in Chemistry, Electricity and the germ theory, by means of which the relief of human suffering is essentially increased. He said :—]

Scientific education is, however, not only needed for the study and treatment of disease, which is, after all, the business of specialists. In the shape of Hygiene it is imperatively needed in the homes and daily life of our people. An intelligent care of health is unknown in India. Consider how many valuable lives have been lost to us which might have been saved by timely measures. It is not long since we were mourning for one of the greatest and most useful of them all, who passed away in your own city before his work had been done, when his great capacities had not even begun to be exhausted. Health is our most precious possession, because it is the first condition of prolonged usefulness. We should try and save it by care and rest and timely remedies, so that we may have a longer time to do our duty to ourselves and those near to us, and, if it in us lies, to our country. At the same time, we must recognise that there are certain rare occasions when all considerations of health must be subordinated to some great and imperative duty.

We make great show and spend much money in caste festivities and shradhas, but to my mind the finer reverence, the truer shradha, is that done to the living, by surrounding them with comfort, guarding their health and prolonging their lives. Yet it would be a mistake to think that Indians have less wish to live than Europeans. I believe they are as much in love with life, and if they do not take as much care to preserve it, it is partly owing to poverty, but still more to their ignorance of the laws of health. This ignorance also accounts for the prevalence of disease and insanitary conditions of our country. Not that these things are peculiar to India, for I have noticed somewhat the same insanitary conditions in houses and villages in Italy, Germany, Spain, Turkey, and Egypt. But the bad example of other countries can be no excuse for lassitude in ourselves. We must push forward whoever lags behind. Our ignorance shows itself in a thousand ways, of which I will only indicate one or two. It shows itself, first, in the increase of those minor ailments, which, without being immediately fatal, are full of annoyance, trouble, and pain, which impair the joy of life and the power of work, and in the end—some sooner, some later—wear down the system. Dyspepsia, diabetes, hysterical and nervous disorders, organic weakness, or disturbance which often shows itself in minor signs, such as the rapid decay of teeth, the growth of these and a host of such maladies, is extremely marked. And in many of these the organic weakness or predisposition to disease is transmitted hereditarily, punishing the children for the ignorance of the fathers. Yet they are all preventable by a little knowledge and care.

Everyone must have noticed the unusual prevalence and growth of dyspepsia and diabetes among Indians, especially educated Indians. This is solely due to our ignorance of the right proportions of brain work and physical exercise, ignorance of the fundamental principles of diet, ignorance of what the stomach will bear and what it will not. Certainly, few people, if they knew how to keep the digestive power unimpaired, would spare themselves the little care which would save from daily misery and the sapping of their energies. Again, the mortality of women and of children might be much less than it is. Many things help to increase the list: ignorance of the care of women

in child birth, the dark, dingy, and unventilated rooms in which they lie, sometimes made yet worse by artificial heat and fire, the evil effects of a sedentary life behind the purdha, the false dignity that will not be conducive to healthy labour. The same ignorance shows itself in some, at least, of our social customs. I may instance early marriage, the rigid prohibition of widow re-marriage, unsuitable connexions between the physically unfit, or between very old men and very young girls. A knowledge of the laws of Nature and obedience to their inexorable conditions rather than our prejudices, and impossible ideals, might lead us to modify these in a salutary direction. They increase child mortality and mortality of women; they stunt the physique and weaken the health of future generations; they debilitate a nation, restrict its energy and power of work, and relax its moral fibre; they kill its force, fortitude and endurance, and leave it too weak to resist the inroads of disease, to keep a position in the race for priority, or to prevent its own material downfall and ruin. We may adhere, within the limits of reason, to our ancient Shastras, and yet try to bring ourselves into line with the physical laws, which are, after all, of paramount importance. Instead, then, of cramming the minds of students with information of no practical utility, such as the more useless parts of geography, we might give them a fair knowledge of the first principles of health and sanitation. Such instruction would be by far the most effective agent for promoting both hygienic and other reforms. It would also make the difficult problem of sanitation in India easy to solve. The great stumbling block of sanitation in India is, even more than poverty, the passive unwillingness of the people, and the whole root of that unwillingness is ignorance. To force sanitation on an unwilling people is beyond the power of rulers and beyond the power of men. The strength of accumulated inertia must in the end baffle the most actively benevolent Government: for against ignorance the gods themselves fight in vain. Some knowledge of science would go a great way to remove the difficulty. It is not enough to tell them that sanitation is good—they must feel it as a part of their own knowledge.

III.

[Address delivered on the occasion of the opening of the Industrial Exhibition at Ahmedabad in December 1902]

GENTLEMEN,— If I hesitated to accept your invitation to preside at the opening of this Exhibition, the importance of the occasion must be my excuse. You called me to step into the breach, to face publicly the most tremendous question of our times and to give you my solution of a problem on which no two people agree, except that it is urgent.

But I do not think that we realise how urgent it is. Famine, increasing poverty, wide-spread disease, all these bring home to us the fact that there is some radical weakness in our system and that something must be done to remedy it. But there is another and a larger aspect of the matter and that is, that this economic problem is our last ordeal as a people. *It is our last chance.*

Fail there and what can the future bring us? We can only grow poorer and weaker, more dependent on foreign help; we must watch our industrial freedom fall into extinction and drag out a miserable existence as the 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' to any foreign power which happens to be our master.

Solve that problem and you have a great future before you, the future of a great people, worthy of your ancestors and of your old position among the nations.

Paris Exhibition.

Two years ago I stood looking at the wonders of that great Exhibition at Paris which summed up in so striking a manner, the progress of a century in Civilization, Industry and Commerce. If I were asked what struck me most in that noble and artistic effort of a great nation, I should answer—the magnificent proportions and excellent management of the undertaking, so vast in conception and admirable in execution, the efficiency of the orderly and illuminating arrangement and careful accuracy of detail, and after that, the extraordinary ingenuity displayed in the educational section in methods and appliances and not only the ingenuity but the thoroughness of these methods especially in the exhibits of Germany and America. But

besides these two special exhibits, that which struck me most profoundly was the enormous difference between India and Europe to-day. Those vast halls crowded with shining steel work, the fruits of the combined industry and genius of a dozen nations; the amazing richness of texture and delicacy of design in the products of those machines; the vigorous life and aspiration which glowed in the Art, as well as the clear precision of the knowledge reflected in the Science, all this impressed me more than I can say. But beyond all this triumph of Man over Nature and her powers, one fact struck me with a curious emphasis,—the enormous gulf which separates the European and the Native of India, in their ideas of comfort.

There rose up before me the interior of a typical Indian home and as I contrasted it with the truly surprising inventions around me, all devoted to that one object—refinement—our much boasted simplicity seemed bare and meagre beyond description. I contrasted those empty rooms,—without even a chair or a table,—with the luxury, the conveniences, which are the necessaries of a European cottage. My mind went back to the Bazaar in my own City of Baroda, the craftsmen working at their old isolated trades with the methods which have sufficed them for centuries without a change, the low irregular houses, the dreamy life drifting between them, and then contrasted it all with this keen and merciless tide which was sweeping and eddying around me, drawing its needs from a thousand machines like these and gathering its comforts from the four quarters of the globe. And with the contrast, I had a vivid sense of the enormous gulf, which we have to bridge over, before India can be said to be on the same plane as the European Nations.

And yet, I thought, there *is* a change coming over India. The appearance of our houses is being altered by the revolution which is being made in their furniture. It is slow, for, there are many who deplore it and speak of it in tones of regret as a process of denationalisation and a fall from simplicity to a burdensome and costly luxury. But the change is rather in the direction in which the money is spent. Our fathers made up by opulence of material for the poverty of convenience. The futility of such regrets is shown by the fact, that most of these eulogists of the past show in their own houses, even if

only in a slight degree, the effects of the tendency which they deplore. I do not mean that we should dispense with simplicity, but let it be a wise moderation in the midst of plenty, not the fatalistic acceptance of poverty as a virtue in itself. And there can be no doubt that this tendency which is now in its initial stage, will grow in strength with the course of years until with the necessary differences due to climate and other environments, it brings us approximately near to the Western model of living.

But this model is a rich and costly model; to maintain it requires easy circumstances and a large diffusion of wealth. A poor country cannot meet its demands. A country without flourishing manufactures must always be a poor country. The future, therefore, imperatively claims this from us, that we shall cease to be a purely agricultural country and vindicate for ourselves some place at least among commercial and manufacturing nations. Otherwise we shall only establish for ourselves the unhappiness of unsatisfied cravings and the benumbing effects of an ideal to which we can make no approach. The cravings must be there, they are inevitable and essential, to progress. To attempt to discourage them for political reasons or from social or religious conservatism is unjust and unwise and must eventually prove futile. The true policy is to provide that the cravings shall find means of encouragement; in other words, to encourage and assist the commercial development of the country and so put it on the only possible road to progress, opulence, and prosperity.

Supposed Inferiority of Tropical Races.

There is a theory which affects to regard the races inhabiting the tropical and subtropical regions of the earth, as disinherited by some mysterious law of Nature from all hope of originality, enterprise and leadership. These things belong to the temperate regions; the tropics are to be for ever no more than the field for the energies of the superior races, to whom alone belong empire, civilization, trade and manufacture. We are to be restricted to a humble subordination, a servile imitation and the production of raw materials for their markets.

At first sight there seems to be some justification for this theory in existing facts. Our trade is in European hands, our industries are

for the most part not our own, our Railways are built, owned and managed by European energy and capital. The Government is European and it is from Europe that we imitate all that we call civilisation. Our immobile and disorganized society compares ill with the enlightened energy and cohesion of Europe; even at our best, we seem to be only the hands that execute, not the head that originates.

Hastiness of the Theory.

Yet even if we accept this picture of ourselves without the necessary modifications we need not accept this interpretation of inherent inferiority. For my part, I demur to any such hasty generalisation; but however much of this be true, be sure that there is no law of Nature which can prevent you from changing it. To suppose that any nation can be shut out from the operation of the law of Evolution is utterly unscientific, and, in the light of History, absurd.

Reasons for disbelieving it.

Granted that originality among us is low, that enterprise is deficient, and that leadership has passed out of our hands; is there in the first place no qualification to the entire truth of the assertion? And in the second, is this state of things due to immutable causes and therefore of old existence or is it the result of recent and removable tendencies? It is true that such originality and power as we still possess has hitherto busied itself mostly in other paths than those of Industry and the Sciences which help Industry; it has worked chiefly on the lines of religion and philosophy which have always been the characteristic bent of the national mind continuing through Rammohan Roy, Dayanand Saraswati and Keshav Chandra Sen, the long and unbroken line of great religious teachers from Goutama to Chaitanya and Kabir. It is true that teachings of fatalism and inactive detachment have depressed the vitality of the people. Yet there is no reason to believe that this depression and this limitation are not removable and constitutional.

But it is not only in Religion that we were great. We had amongst us brave soldiers like Shivaji, Hyder Ali, Mahadaji Scindhia and Ranjit Singh. Can we not again claim to have had an important share in the establishment of that mighty structure—the Indian Empire-

erected indeed by the clear-sighted energy and practical genius of England but on the foundations of Indian patience, Indian blood and Indian capital?

It is not an insignificant system that, considering how recent and meagre is Scientific Education in India, we should be able to show at least some names that are familiar to European Scientists, not to speak of others enjoying a deserved reputation among ourselves. Small as the circumstance may seem it is yet enough to overthrow the theory of constitutional incapacity. And if we consider classes rather than individuals, can it be denied that the Parsees are an enterprising and industrially capable race? Or can it be doubted that the community which could produce a leader in industry and philanthropy like Mr. Tata, will, as circumstances improve, take a leading place in the commercial world? Or can enterprise and commercial capacity be denied to classes like the Bhatias, Khojas and the merchants of Scindh?

When we have individuals and classes like these in our midst we may well inquire, why is it that we stand so poorly in Industry and Commerce, without fearing that the answer, however ungrateful to our feelings, will lead us to despair.

But if this theory of the inferiority of the tropical races be untrue, if we find that in the past we had great men whose influence is with us even to-day, we must look for some other cause for the difference and ask what is it that India has not to-day, but which she had in that older stage of her history and which Europe has at the present day.

We have not far to seek. It is obviously that clear and practical examination of life and Nature which men call Science and its application to the needs of Life which men call Industry in which we are deficient and in which Europe excels. And if we question the past, we learn that this is exactly what has not come down to us through the ages along with our Religion and Philosophy.

Our early history is scanty and, in many respects, uncertain, but no uncertainty, no scantiness can do away with the fact that there was once a great commercial people. We see a very wealthy nation with organised guilds of artisans, a flourishing inland commerce, a large export and import trade. We hear of busy and flourishing ports

through which the manufactures of India flowed out to Europe, to Arabia and Persia, and from which, in those early times we sent out our delicate cotton textures, our chintz and muslin, our silk cloth and silk thread, a fine quality of steel; indigo, sugar, spices and drugs; diamonds, ivory and gold. In return we received brass, tin and lead, coral, glass, antimony; woollen cloth and wines from Italy, and also specie and bullion.

All through the Middle Ages, our manufactures and industries were at a very high level. Every traveller attests the existence of large and flourishing towns, (a sure index of industrial prosperity), and praises the skill and ingenuity of our workmen. It is on the Eastern trade that Venice built her greatness, for, then we were indeed "Gorgeous East." Notice, that it is especially in the manufactures which required delicate work, originality of design, or instinctive taste that our products were famous, our carving, our inland work and our gossamer cloth.

Coming now to the earlier part of the last century what do we find? The carrying trade has passed from the Arabs to the East India Company, and with it too, the control of nearly all our exports, especially those in Indigo, Iron and Steel, and the newly imported industries in Tobacco, Tea and Coffee. But there is still a large body of trade in Indian hands; even then our manufactures held their own and were far superior to those of Europe; even then there were thousands of skilled artisans; we supplied our own wants and exported enormous quantities of goods to other countries. Where, then, has all this trade gone, and, what has caused our decline?

The most obvious answer is, as I have said, the difference between Europe and India in Industrial methods and appliances. But this is not quite sufficient to explain it. A deeper examination of the facts at our disposal shows the life that had left Indian Industry before Europe had brought her machines to any remarkable development, and long before those wonderful changes which the application of Chemistry and Electricity have more recently wrought in Industry. Nor can we ascribe it to a superiority which England possessed in Industrial and Technical Education; for at that time there was no such training and

England has never relied on it for commercial capacity. If we go a little deeper into the matter we find that there is a further reason which does not depend on the natural working of economic laws but which is political in its nature, the result of the acquisition of political power by the East India Company and the absorption of India into the growing British Empire.

As Mr. Dutt shows in his able *Economic History of British India*, this political change had the gravest effect on our economic life. In the first place, we have the economic policy of the East India Company which, so far as its export trade was concerned, accepted manufactures indeed, but paid an equal if not greater attention to raw materials. Even our internal trade was taken from us by the policy of the East India Company ; there were heavy transit dues on all inland commerce and there were commercial Residents in every part of the Company's possessions who managed to control the work of the local artisans and so thoroughly that outside their factories all manufacture came to an end.

On this came the protective policy of the British Government, which despite the powerful interests of the East India Company crushed Indian manufactures by prohibitive import duties and then the application of steam to manufactures. It is scarcely to be wondered at, then, if with all this against us at home and abroad, our manufactures declined and with the great advance in the improvement in machinery and the initiation of a Free trade Policy this decline was hastened into ruin.

Moreover a country not exporting manufactures is necessarily stagnant and commercial progress and self-adaptability cease. Once the manufacturing superiority of India had been transferred to England, it was impossible for the weaker country to recover its position without some measure of protection. Not only was the struggle in itself unequal but the spectacle of a mighty commerce over-shadowing and dominating ours, flooding our markets and taking away our produce for its own factories induced a profound dejection, hopelessness and inertia among our people. Unable to react against that dominating force we came to believe that the inability was constitutional and inherent in ourselves ; there is a tendency in fact

to hypnotise ourselves into apathy by continual repetition of the formula that Indians, as a race, are lacking in enterprise, deficient in business faculties, barren in organising power. If, therefore, I have dwelt upon our old manufactures and commerce and the way in which they were crushed, it is not with the unprofitable object of airing an old grievance but in order to point out that there is no reason for this discouraging view of ourselves. We were a trading and manufacturing country from ancient times down to the present century and if our manufactures have fallen into decay, our commerce languished, it was under a burden which would have crushed the most flourishing industry of the most energetic people.

Our weakness lies in this that we have for many years lain prostrate under the fictitious sense of our own helplessness and made no adequate attempt to react against our circumstances. We have succumbed where we should have exhausted every posibility of resistance and remedy. We have allowed the home-keeping propensities and the out-of-date semi-religious prejudices, which have gathered round the institution of Caste, to prevent us from choosing the line of activity most consonant with our abilities or from seeking other lands in search of fresh markets and the knowledge of new industries. The restriction against foreign travel is one of the most serious obstacles in the way of commercial success and must be utterly swept away, if we are not to go on stagnating. It is a pity that communities like the Bhatias should be restrained by an out-worn prejudice from going abroad and furthering that task of development for which they are so admirably fitted. The endeavours hitherto made, have been, with few exceptions, sporadic, half-hearted and prematurely abandoned ; and the support given to them by the public has been scanty, wanting in confidence and in personal active interests. It is this state of things which must cease before we can hope to revive our old manufactures, to establish firmly and extend those, which exist ; and to set on foot any new industries which our needs demand and for which the conditions offer sufficient opportunity ; then India may again be what she was in the past and what she is so admirably fitted by nature to be,—a self-sufficing country, famous for artistic and useful industries ; and to raise

her again to this, should be the ideal of every patriotic citizen. But, in order that the ideal may be realized we need first, knowledge of our possibilities, of the means and facilities necessary to success, and of the lines on which activity would be best repaid; and secondly, belief in ourselves and in each other so that our knowledge may not fail for want of co-operation.

If we get these, if we realize the progress of Science and Mechanical Invention and resolutely part with old and antiquated methods of work, if we liberate ourselves from hampering customs and superstitions, none of which are an essential part of our religion, if, instead of being dazed in imagination by the progress of Europe, we learn to examine it intelligently and meet with our own progress there will be no reason for us to despair; but if we fail in this we must not hope to occupy a place in the civilized and progressive world.

Lines of Activity.

To speak with any fulness on this subject is not possible within the short limit of time at my disposal. I shall, therefore, pass lightly over a few salient points; for the lines of activity, open to us and calling for, our energies, are unlimited in their extent, variety and promise. This country is not poor in its resources, but may rather be said to be blessed by Nature in many respects; its mineral wealth is anything but contemptible; its soil produces valuable and useful products in great variety and abundance; the provision of water power is also unstinted. We have an excess of cheap labour and we have hereditary artisans who are quick in hand and eye and who only need to be properly trained to make them the equals, if not the superiors, of their rivals. If there are certain serious disadvantages and defects in its mineral wealth such as the inferiority of its coal supplies and in its vegetable products, such as the greater coarseness of its cotton and the difficulty of growing the finest silk, yet so great is the advance Science has made that we need not despair of meeting some of these difficulties at least in part. Nor is there any imperative necessity that we should always vie with other countries in producing the very best. If we utilise to the best advantage what nature has given us and advance in such manufactures as the country is fitted for, we shall have done no inconsiderable task. What is required is greater knowledge,

a more earnest endeavour of the Government towards improvement and the provision of facilities and more serious activity on the part of the people to take advantage of such facilities as already exist—improvement in Agriculture, facilities in Industries; for in a country like India which produces or can produce the bulk of its own raw material, the agricultural question cannot be separated from the industrial.

Agriculture.

Improvement in Agriculture is necessary to secure an increased quantity and improved quality of the produce of our fields. What Science can do for Agriculture, the development of the Beet-sugar industry and the improvement of Cotton clearly show; and as Sugar and Cotton are two of the most important of our products and especially of our export trade, I wish to call your attention to what has been done by our rivals.

Beet-Sugar cultivation has been gradually developed by careful selection of the best roots and the application of Agricultural Chemistry until the percentage of Saccharine has been doubled and trebled. Here is the remedy for Indian sugar. We must not be ashamed to borrow our rivals' tactics but strive hard to get the very best canes and take care to use nothing but the very best methods of cultivation and manufacture.

The same is true of Cotton. It is certain that the competition which Indian cotton has to meet will be much intensified in the near future and our only hope of meeting it successfully is to improve our indigenous varieties up to a point at which they can hold their own. I believe that we can do this, but it demands the most patient research and above all, that when the best variety has been discovered, the cultivator will really grow it.

Science is our great hope, but there is one great obstacle to be overcome before Science can help us; and, that is the ignorance and apathy which is the general condition of the agricultural classes at present.

The failure of the old arts and crafts, and especially that of arms, has thrown vast numbers back on the soil and these classes are neither

intelligent nor progressive. Many old professions are dying out and while those, who should have followed them, go back to the land, many of these professions are not such as to provide any hereditary capacity for Agriculture. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if our Indian cultivators, despite their traditional skill, are neither enterprising nor capable of undertaking improvements, which demand considerable energy and foresight. Their methods, despite Dr. Vœlcker's high encomiums, are backward, their resources are very limited and their implements, though they may be those best suited to their narrow means and small holdings, are old and economically wasteful. But their most serious drawback is their helplessness. There is a general complaint that the soil is deteriorating but that they can do nothing to remedy it and in times of scarcity and famine they seem incapable of doing anything to help themselves. This is a most serious question and one which demands all our attention.

In the first place this deterioration of the soil is a very real danger. Do you know that the average product per acre has in some parts of the country diminished by 50 per cent. since the middle of the seventeenth century, when the *Aini Akbari* was compiled? Is it any wonder that the peasant grows poorer, or that his resources diminish?

Improvement.

Our remedies must fall under two heads :—

(1) The improvement of methods, implements and general conditions and—

(2) Education.

Implements.

In the first place the attempts to introduee new implements have nearly all failed. Iron flails and threshing machines have been tried at one time or another but the ryot will have none of them. At the same time this does not mean that the old implements are the very best that the wit of man can devise, and we are to suppose that the failure is conclusive.

Cattle Breeding.

Another matter to which Government has given some attention has been cattle-breeding. The results so far have not been encouraging, though there are Government farms at Hissar and at Bhadgaum

in Khandesh, and another called the Amirt Mahal maintained by the Mysore Government from which are derived certain superior breeds of cattle to be found in the Madras Presidency.

But until we can get the co-operation of the people the result must be disappointing. Nevertheless, I think that there is a great deal of good work to be done on these lines and I am of opinion that besides improving the breed of cattle, much might be done in the way of encouraging the ryots to breed other stock, such as horses, mules etc. It is a thousand pities that our Indian breeds of horses should be dying out and that there seems to be no sensible effort made to keep them alive. Perhaps the chief reason that Government breeding farms have failed is that they are too elaborate for the people in their present condition. I believe that much might be done by reviving the old custom of keeping sacred bulls in every village and taking care that the bulls supplied were the best that could be procured, or if the cultivator could be persuaded to breed only from the best animals. One advantage of this scheme is that it can be carried out by private enterprise.

Instead of helping ourselves, we always depend upon Government. Here is an instance where the people can, with advantage, help themselves.

To it I would add the planting of trees, which are of economic value,round the cultivators' fields and the encouragement of the fibrous plants which are now articles of commerce : the question of good drainage to relieve the bad effects of irrigation and besides that, a serious endeavour to help the ryot to show only the best seed and to pay some attention to the best rotation of crops.

Irrigation.

But in a country like India where the introduction of improved implements is so limited in its possibilities and where everything depends upon the timeliness and sufficiency of the annual rains, it is Irrigation that must necessarily take the largest place in all plans for agricultural improvement. This importance of irrigation has been recognized by the successive Rulers of this country from the times of the ancient Hindu Kings. From the days of Asoka, and before him

the digging of wells and tanks had been the subject of royal edicts and one of the first religious duties of Princes, Zemindars and wealthy philanthropists. The number of small tanks in ruins that one finds in the districts, the multitude of old wells that still exist round about Mahomedan capitals, above all the immense system of artificial reservoirs in the Madras Presidency, bear testimony to the steady persistency of this old tradition of administrative benevolence. In the Southern Presidency there are over 6,000 tanks mainly of native origin, the magnitude of which will be best remembered when it is understood that the embankments measure over 30,000 miles, with 300,000 separate masonry works and that these tanks irrigate over 34 lacs of acres, an area almost equal to that irrigated by the entire system of the major and minor works of the Madras Presidency. These works were getting out of repair in the troublous times of the eighteenth century, when general disorder and maladministration, the usual concomitants of any violent change in the form of Government, prevailed in our country. The British Government when they occupied the country, with their characteristic administrative energy, not only put them in order, but in many cases improved and enlarged them. They have broguht, or kept under irrigation, an area of little less than 20 millions of acres at the cost of 42 crores of rupees ; and the work has been done with so much judgment and success, that the works yield a profit of nearly 7 per cent. and the produce raised equals 98 per cent. of the total capital outlay. Not content with this, they are now undertaking to prepare and gradually execute a scheme of protective works which, when complete, ought to do much to insure the country against famine, The work in irrigation will always be one of the most splendid and irreproachable chapters in the history of British rule.

The proposed extension of irrigation works would also offer to the capitalists of the country a very eligible field for the investment of their surplus savings. If the people only co-operate they would find Irrigation projects a very profitable channel for investment ; and if they fail to take advantage of the favourable opportunity one need not be surprised if European capital is extensively employed in their development as has been done in the case of Railways in India. I trust the Government on its part, will also offer more than usual

inducements to attract private Indian capital in these profitable undertakings.

Wells.

Besides great irrigation works, there is another way in which much might be done to protect the country against drought, that is, by encouraging the digging of wells This is a method well adapted for States which have no facilities for works on a grand scale. In my own territories, I have found that the advance of Tagavi, for this purpose, was a measure which the cultivator could understand, and under the guidance of experienced officers, one which worked well. At the same time large irrigation works have been commenced in various parts of the territory and a survey is being made for the repair of old tanks and the utilization of favourable spots for the storage of water.

Manure.

But it must not be forgotten that Irrigation will not end all our troubles. Indeed, unless it is accompanied by a considerable measure of intelligence and foresight, it brings others in its train, such as the debilitation of the soil. The remedy for this is, of course, the use of artificial manures which will restore to the soil some of the qualities which are removed from it by over-irrigation. But here we are at once faced by our usual want of foresight and ignorance of which I have already spoken. In the face of the deterioration of the soil, which I have mentioned as a widespread evil, widely acknowledged, it is inconceivable to me that we should seek to encourage the export of cotton-seeds on which so much of the efficiency of the simple manure, which we use here in Guzerat, depends. Yet the value of this export has risen in one year from five to fifty lacs of Rupees, and it is certain that at this rate the cattle will have to go without it and that their manure will become practically valueless. An artificial manure is therefore, a crying necessity.

Another point is the growth of deep-rooted grasses which can resist drought and so prevent the terrible mortality of cattle which was so painfully marked in the late famine. We must follow the example of Australia in this matter and find indigenous deep-rooted grasses which we can plant systematically on waste land and then,

when we are cursed with another season of drought, we shall have something to meet it with.

General Improvements.

But before we can hope that the ryot will try to employ measures which demand a high level of intelligence and scientific knowledge, we must awaken his curiosity and enlist his sympathy, which can only be done by a good system of general education. Without it our best endeavours are bound to fail. Government has established Agricultural Colleges and model farms in different parts of the country, but Agriculture has been but little improved in consequence. Partly, I think, this is due to the vastness of the area and the great variety of local conditions, for each district has its own difficulties to meet and overcome. But the main reason for the failure is, I believe, the indifference and apathy of the people themselves. Another reason is the fact that these measures have come from outside and not from the people. However imperfect our education may be, it is equally lamentable that it has so far affected no more than 5 per cent. of the population of the country. Before any noticeable change can take place there must be a general feeling among the people that improvement must be made and a desire to take advantage of the efforts of Government to help them. At present, they are more inclined to laugh at our attempts to aid them than to help us by their advice and showing us where their real difficulties lie. Their criticism, as a rule, is more destructive than educative.

I have found it possible to do something to improve the more intelligent ryots, to show them better methods of cultivation; and the school for the Dhankas at Songad has been more or less successful. But these measures only serve to raise the internal level of the lower agriculture up to the highest of our present system, while the problem is to raise the general level.

Perhaps something might be done by agricultural associations which studied local requirements and popularised such improvements as admitted of practical application. But I believe the only change which would do much, would be to induce a more intelligent and enterprising class to engage in agriculture.

Over and above all this, it is very important that our agriculturists should have cottage industries or some work on which they can usefully engage themselves and the members of their family during the slack season of agriculture. Such would be wood-carving and the making of toys for the men, and for the women, needle work and embroidery.

Manufactures.

I do not think we should stop short at improving out raw materials. I believe we might do much in the way of working them up. The annual review of the Trade of India published by the Statistical Department of the Government of India teaches us some wholesome lessons, which it would be always useful to remember. They show the large number of objects for which we are at present dependent on foreign factories, but for which we have plenty of raw material at hand, and which, if we only avail ourselves of the latest scientific methods, we can ourselves manufacture. Our endeavour should be to reduce this dependence upon foreign industries and, where the necessary facilities do not exist for such manufactures at home, we should so improve the quality of our raw material as to enable it to hold its own in the foregin market to which it is sent out. The wheat, for instance, which we export at present, is used for the manufacture of bread in Europe, but it is scarcely fit to be turned to the many other uses to which it can be put, unless it is much improved in quality. The same remarks apply to many of the most ordinary articles of daily use, such as paper, oils, leather, etc. The case of leather is peculiarly striking. We export the hides, and the materials for tanning them and, that is not all. There is a cheaper and more efficient process of cleaning the hides in use in Europe and the hides are exported to be cleaned there. Is it impossible for India to tan her own hides, in her own factories, with her own tanning materials? Another point seems inconceivable when the need for artificial manure is remembered and that is, that we export bones in large quantities to be turned in bone-manure for beet-fields of our rivals, and so for the other sugar, which we so largely import.

Glass again is an article of which we import a large quantity every year, but which we might manufacture for ourselves. Last

year we imported glass of the value of over ninety lacs of Rupess. In 1887, I made some inquiries into the matter and found that there were raw materials in plenty for the manufacture not only of rough glass, but of glass of the finest quality. I was advised that it would not pay to establish a factory, but the reasons against success were not insuperable.

I also made some enquires into the possibility of manufacturing paper in Guzerat and discovered that there were abundant raw materials of an excellent quality to be obtained here, and that this too was quite feasible.

We have already some glass-blowing factories at Kapadwanj and in the Punjab; Paper Mills in Bombay, Poona and Bengal; Leather Tanneries in Madras, Cawnpore and Bombay; and it would be interesting to study the quantity and quality of these home products and compare them with the articles imported from abroad. We may thereby learn the difference and know how to remove their short-comings and extend their sale. Experience is the only path to knowledge; comparison perfects it; it is the spirit of the age and the basis of all reform. I would suggest that, of the many manufactures which might be successful in India, it would be advisable to begin with those in which there is a steady local demand such as soap, candles, glass furniture, nibs, carpets, etc., and afterwards extend the field of our operations so as to include other and more elaborate articles.

Industrial Education.

To enable us to take up these manufactures we need a system of Industrial Education, and for this we have to rely very largely on the assistance of Government. But we must remember that our position is not quite that of any European country in this respect, and that our best model would probably be Japan. Now Japan, when she aimed at general and, particularly, at industrial progress,adopted three main lines on which her education, was to run. These were, first to send a number of her young men abroad, and especially to Germany, for education; secondly to establish great Colleges in Japan itself, the staff of which was at first composed of Europeans, and thirdly, to employ the services

of Europeans, in the initial stages of her manufactures, under whom her people were gradually trained in efficiency.

Now I should like to call attention to the last of these first, because I think that here we have the solution of a difficulty which has been met with in the case of some industries which have recently been started. I have heard complaints that the quality of the goods turned out was not satisfactory and from what I heard, it seemed to me that perhaps the failure was due to the incompetency of the directors or to some culpable laxness in their management, or to our having commenced the enterprise on too impractiable or ambitious a scale or to our having lost sight of some essential conditions of success at the outset. Some industries may require European skill and supervision to pilot them through their initial stages, and a hasty attempt to dispense with it may lead to disappointing results. But there is another aspect to this apparent incompetency; we have to learn trustworthiness, a capacity for obedience, the art of management, accuracy, punctuality, method and the sense of justice, and the only school which will teach us these is a position in which they are called out by use.

To come to the second point, it is obviously impossible to send any very large proportion of our Indian youths abroad, though I think more might be done in this direction. I would appeal to Government and to our philanthropists to see if they cannot help us.

That which will help us most, however, is a largely extended system of technical and general education such as that on which Germany has built her commercial greatness. It is of course, impossible to imitate the German system exactly. But it is not impossible to provide ourselves with a system which will meet our requirements. Though private individuals may do something in the matter, a satisfactory solution of the whole question must depend upon the sympathy and generosity of the Government.

I believe that Government could not give a greater boon than such an education, and I think, I am voicing the feelings of the educated class at large, when I say that we are confident that we have not long to wait to see our rulers grapple with this problem, with their usual energy and decision. Meanwhile we must start our factories, as best

we can, and do the best with our present circumstances. I do not over-look the fact that the odds against us are heavy and that our infant industries have to struggle from the start in an open market with long established competitors.

Protection.

I am not afraid of being thought an economic heretic if I say that I think we need Protection to enable our industries to reach their growth. The economic history of Germany and America shows that there is a stage in the growth of a nation when protection is necessary.

The laws of Political Economy are not inexorable and must bend to the exigencies of time and place. Theories and doctrines, however plausible, cannot take precedence of plain and practical truths. It is true that Free Trade enables a country to procure at cheaper rates those articles that can be manufactured more conveniently in foreign lands, but this cheapness is dearly bought by the loss of industrial status, and the reduction of a whole people to a helpless proletariat. National defence against alien industrial inroads is more important than the cheapness of a few articles.

Protection, therefore, if only for a short time, is what we need for our nascent manufactures ; for some time must elapse before more perfect methods are naturalised in India and the standard of Indian workmanship attains the excellence of Europe. A high wall of tariffs has secured to American manufactories the home market as an undisputed field for their own development and India, maimed and helpless as she has been, may expect that relief from her beneficent Government. Government, like the climate and geographical conditions of a country, has a peculiar force of its own and must leave an indelible impress on the mould of the destinies of nations. It may, as powerfully hamper as promote the moral and material development of the people entrused to its care. If the Government was backed up by a more informed and intelligent public opinion and if the people, awakened to a sense of national life were allowed and induced to take a livelier interest in their own concerns and if they worked in unison they would conduce to mutual strength. Government is a matter of common sense and compromise and its aim should be to secure the legitimate interests of the people governed.

Handicrafts and Home Industries.

But at the same time I would warn you against some false methods of encouraging Industry, such as the movement to use no cloth not produced in the country. The idea is quite unsound so far as any economic results go; and the true remedy for any old industry which needs support is to study the market, find out what is wanted and improve the finish of the work and the design, until an increasing demand shows that the right direction has been found. This applies particularly to the artistic trades such as wood-carving and metalwork for which the country has been so famous and which it would be a pity to allow to die altogether. Among other means of improvement, the education of women in decorative art would bring a fresh economic force into play; and as I ascertained by enquiries in London, made from a desire to find lucrative home-industries for our women, and especially for widows, would prove extremely profitable, if the right steps were taken. Tapestry for instance, is a great women's industry in Switzerland; lace work, cretonne and embroidered cushions could all very well be done by women. Needle work is even now done in Guzerat homes. If the designs and colouring are improved, it might be turned into an active industry, supplying our own wants and possibly, outside demands. Carpet-weaving also which is now done in several of our jails, might in the same way be turned into a profitable home industry. The main thing is to study the market and not to pursue our own hobbies. It would be necessary to have agents in Europe, who would study European wants, consult professional men and get designs which could be executed in India. Something of the sort is, I believe, done in the School of Arts in Madras. My inquiries in Paris convinced me that in the hands of capable persons, this method would be both practicable and profitable.

Large Industries.

I would, however, direct your attention more to the establishment of the larger industries involving an extensive use of machinery, for it is upon this that our economic future and any increase of our wealth depends.

Before we have a large demand at home for the Arts we must produce wealth to support them and we shall never have that wealth

until we have an economic system on a much broader basis than our present limited Industry.

With a little energy and the assistance of Government, we can broaden this basis and then we may look forward to a new lease of life for Indian Art and Indian Literature and for those industries which depend on leisure and wealth.

Now I should like to say a few words on the subject of the assistance which a Government can give in developing the resources of its territories. I have indicated a few ways in which I think Government can help economic development in the direction of Education. To these I would add improvement in the means of communication and the establishment of banks and other co-operative institutions. It can also encourage merchants and manufacturers by advances of capital and by granting other facilities.

Native States in India, seriously handicapped as they are by their limited means and scope and the want of trained men, though they cannot emulate their great exemplar, the British Government, seem to limit themselves as yet too much to the routine of administration and might do more for the material and commercial development of the country. Granted freedom of action, and with proper endeavours, I am inclined to think that many States in Central India, Rajaputana and elsewhere would be able to get even more treasure out of the bowels of the earth than Mysore and Hyderabad at present obtain. But Government help has its limits.

My experience teaches me that it is very difficult for Government to provide industries for its people in the absence of a real business spirit amongst the people themselves. It is very difficult for so impersonal an entity as Government to get capable managers or to supervise its enterprises properly. I have tried various measures in my own State but I am sorry to say that the results are disappointing. A sugar-mill, a cotton-mill and an ice-factory were tried but were not a success. A State fund for the advance of capital and other assistance to manufacturers also failed. I found that the managers were not sufficiently interested in the scheme and not impartial in the working of it. I am convinced, however, that the fault lay not with the industries themselves but in the fact that they were State-enterprises.

I have also made an experiment in technical education. I founded an institution called the Kala-Bhavan with departments in dyeing and weaving, carpentry and mechanical engineering, and with the object of diffusing technical education. I had branches of it set up in various parts of the Raj ; but the response among the people was so faint that after a time the institution had to be contracted within narrower limits. Until the means of the people and the material wealth of the country expand, there can be but little demand for the work which such institutes turn out. So far, the Kala-Bhavan has done but little beyond providing skilled dyers for Bombay mills ; but until the people co-operate more earnestly its utility will not be recognised. Once more it is the prevailing ignorance which hampers every movement to help the people. They are sunk in a fatalistic apathy and do not care to learn how to help themselves.

I have omitted to refer to the many endeavours made by other Native States in the same direction not because they are not worth mentioning ; the wonderful Cauvery electric power scheme and the Irrigation projects of the Mysore and Jeypore States as well as the fine Technical School at Jeypore are indusputably entitled to a high rank in the record of such laudable work ; I have to pass them over for want of time and adequate information of all their details.

Effect of Education on Industrial Efficiency.

It is the general lack of education and intelligence which hampers us at every turn and has been our ruin. Once we can make education general we may hope for increased dexterity, an increased trustworthiness and quickness to discover new processes. We need these qualities in every class of Indian society Education in England has diffused a spirit of self-reliance and a capacity for initiative education in Germany aims at thorough knowledge, methodical application and exact learning ; but education in India has hitherto aimed only at providing a certain amount of food for thought without ever touching the mental capacity or character.

Capital.

I do not think that the plea that our industries are poor for want of capital is one that can be sustained. We have more capital than

we imagine to develop our resources if we would only use it. But we lack the active foresight always seeking the best investments. We prefer to hoard our savings in our women's ornaments, or to invest it in Government securities at low rates of interest when we might be using it in ways which would be profitable to the country at large, as well as to ourselves, such as agricultural improvements, insurance of agricultural stock and the establishment of factories. And this is especially true of some Native States, which invest their surplus capital in Government securities instead of using it in the development of the resources of their own territories.

Want of Self-confidence and Confidence in Others.

This is not, however, our only fault. There is another fault which is nearly as fatal to any system of industry and that is our lack of confidence in ourselves and in one another. Without self-confidence you can never do anything; you will never found an industry or build up a trade, for you have nothing to carry you through the first anxious years when the only dividend is Hope, and the best assets are unfaltering courage and faith in oneself. And without confidence in one another you will never have a credit system and without a credit system no modern commerce can exist. It is this want of co-operation and mutual distrust which paralyses Indian Industry, ruins the statesman, and discredits the individual even in his own household. I believe that this trait of our character, though in some cases arising from our obvious defects and instances of actual misconduct among ourselves, is mainly due to the fact that the nation has long been split up into incoherent units, but also to the ignorance and restricted vision which result from our own exclusiveness. We have denied ourselves the illuminating experience of foreign travel and are too prone to imagine that our weaknesses are confined to India. Failures and defalcations are as common in Europe. as among ourselves; and yet we allow ourselves to be too easily discouraged by such incidents. Hence arises a habit of censorious judgment, a disposition to put the worst construction on the conduct of our friends and relatives without trying to find the truth, which destroys all trust and tolerance. Our view of the conduct of friends, of the policy of administrations, of the success and integrity of commercial undertakings, are all vitiated by a

readiness to believe the worst. It is only when we learn to suspend judgment and know the man and the motive before we criticise, that we shall be able to repose trust where trust is due. We must stiffen our character and educate ourselves up to a higher moral standard.

We despair too easily. Let us remember that we must expect failures at first; but that it is those who learn from failure that succeed. Moreover as any one may learn from a survey of the present state of Industry, there is evidence that some do succeed. We have not, of course, made the most of our opportunities, but it is worth while remembering that something has been done because it shows us what it is possible to do, and encourage us to do it. If any one wishes to know, in more detail, what has been done and what might be done, he could not do better than consult Mr. Ranade's excellent book on the subject.

Exhibitions.

And now let me say a word about this Exhibition and its aims. I take it that an Exhibition is intended to draw the scattered threads of industrial activity, so that the members of any trade may learn not only what is the latest development in their own trade, but also what other trades are doing, and what in the other trades is likely to help them. Then it is hoped the spectacle of advance and improvement will arouse emulation and suggest new ideas and also draw industries together. But are the conditions in India such that we may hope for this? I fear not; I fear that the ryot will not come to learn from us and that there will be few craftsmen who will go away with new ideas and the memory of new processes. But we should not despair.

It should be remembered that a similar difficulty was experienced in England in connection with the workmen's institutes which sprang up all over the country in response to Dr. Birkbeck Hill's suggestions. The object was to provide the mechanic with lectures on his own trade; but the attempt failed from the incapacity of the working man to learn anything from the lectures. Lectures and Exhibitions bear fruit only when the people have received sufficient general education to make them mentally receptive and deft in adaptation and invention. When that goal is reached, such Exhibitions may

most usefully be turned into Local Museums and if possible a syllabus of instruction attached to the exhibits. On the other hand, there is yet another function which Exhibitions perform and which is equally useful and that is their influence as general education among the classes whose intelligence is already aroused, and who go away with a new sense of what there is to learn. Life is not yet all machinery which it takes an expert to understand and there are many new ideas which the collection of the most recent efforts in Art and Science in one place can inspire and especially is this true, if there is the comparison of the old and the new.

Awakening.

But before any of these undertakings and enterprises, which I have mentioned can succeed, India must be thoroughly awakened. Understand what this means. *It means action.* There is no reality in our social reform, our political progress, our industrial revival, because as you know, there is scarcely one who dares to act even in his own household.

You complain of an over-centralised Government, of the evils of heavy home charges, of Inland Excise duties on cotton, of the treatment given to your emigrants, and want of a legitimate share by the people in their own Government, and there may be much in your complaints, but until you realise that the ultimate remedy lies in your own hands and that you have to carry it out by yourselves, no external reform can help you.

That awakening, that realisation is your share of the work, you who know something of Western thought and Western methods, and who imitate much from the West. But to the bulk of the population it does not apply so simply. The masses of India are lost in a hopeless ignorance and that is why they are so intensely conservative and lacking in confidence and initiative. We cling to old customs because we do not know that they are not essential to our religion and we dare not adopt new ideas or establish new industries because we do not know how to set about it. But there is another side to this ignorance and that is that we let our old customs hamper us and blind us to the present, because we do not understand the past.

Remember two inevitable tendencies in history, one that no system however perfect, however glorious, however far-reaching, can go on for two thousand years (or two hundred for that matter) without enormous changes being made in it simply by Time; the other that the Religious, the Political and Mental elements of a nation are indissolubly connected and interwoven so that you cannot alter a single feature in one of them without changing all three. Now apply these principles to the past.

The Past.

From 500 A. D. we find a steady decline in the political and mental condition of the country down to the two centuries of darkness from which we emerge into the periods of Rajput and the Mahomedan conquest. Follow the fortunes of India down the next eight centuries and note the steady decline in Hindu power both political and mental, till we come to the time when Europeans obtain a firm footing in India and conquer the country with very slender means, meeting and conquering each problem as it arises. For fourteen hundred years the record is one of steady decline in political and mental nationality. How then can religion have fared and especially all those social institutions, which depend on Religion?

Surely it is clear that just as our trade and our political power collapsed before the attacks made upon them because they were inefficient, the other features of our system cannot have escaped degradation and that in clinging to them blindly we are clinging to the very tendencies, the very forces that have dragged us down.

The fact that we cling so tightly to them has only ruined them and us. Consider the effects of cumulative physical heredity on the capacity of any caste when the action, for which that caste and its institutions were designed, is taken out of its power.

Here then is the problem to carry out a great change in this respect, to realise our ignorance and to make up our minds to face the question, how and what to change boldly and all together. We have changed before when it has suited our convenience, adopting details from the Mahomedans when it fell in with our wishes and many of us, even our Conservatives, are European in their tastes at times.

It is obvious that our Religion and Institutions of to-day have nothing in them except perhaps a faint shadow of their old vigour and glory on which our old greatness was founded.

India needs a great national movement in which each man will work for the nation and not for himself or for his caste, a movement carried out on common-sense lines.

It does not mean that we are to adopt a brand new system from Europe, but it does mean that we must borrow a little common sense in our solutions of the problems of life.

We must resolutely see what we need and if we find a plain and satisfactory solution adopt it whether we have authority for it or not. Turn to the past and see what made India great and if you find anything in our present customs which does not square with what we find there, make up your minds to get rid of it boldly, without thinking that it will ruin you to do so. Study the past till you know what knowledge you can get from it which you can use in the present and add to it what the West can teach us especially in the application of Science to the needs of life.

You gentlemen, are the leaders of India and if you fail, she fails. Let each of you make up his mind that he will live by what his reason tells him is right, no matter whether it be oppossed or approved by any sage, custom or tradition. Think and then act at once. Enough time has been wasted, waiting for Time to solve our problems. Wait no longer but strike and strike home.

We have our "ancient regime" of custom and prejudice to overcome; let us meet them by a new Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, a Liberty of action, Equality of opportunity and the Fraternity of a great national ideal. Then you may hope to see India a nation again, with a national Art and a national literature and a flourishining commerce, and then, but not till then you demand a National Government.

I should like to pay a personal tribute to the organisers of this Exhibition, for the trouble and energy they have expended in making this collection of Indian Arts and Industry—so fine and represeutative a collection, and to the local authorities and their able head,

Mr. Lely, the popular Commissioner, whose name will ever be a household word in Guzerat for his unfailing kindness in Famine and plenty and who has taken so encouraging an interest in this Exhibition.

Surely it is a good omen for the success of our industrial revival that this Exhibition takes place in Ahmedabad, a town long famous for its enterprise and energy and which already possesses factories and industrial connections of importance with the industrial world. If only we had a few more Ahmedabads, India would not have long to wait for a real revival of her commerce.

And last of all, I have to pray for the long life, happiness and prosperity of his Gracious Majesty the King Emperor, whose accession we are about to celebrate in so splendid a manner and whose reign will, we trust, inaugurate a new period of strong and prosperous national life for India, which will make her the brightest jewel in that Imperial Diadem.

IV.

[At the Eighteenth session of the Indian National Social Conference, held at Bombay in December 1904, H. H. the Gaekwar delivered the Inaugural Address and spoke as follows :—]

Ladies and Gentlemen—

WHEN I was asked by Mr. Chandavarkar to open this meeting of the Social Conference in Bombay, it was with some diffidence that I accepted. I could not but recollect how many distinguished men have occupied this chair and with how many earnest, brilliant and informing speeches the function has been associated in the past. They have dealt with all the various subjects of our social problems and thrown on them the full and clear light of their learning and their thought. What could I add to the things they have said or how could I feel any self-confidence in filling their place? Still I accepted the invitation only because I was anxious to show my sympathy with the movement which this Conference typifies.

A few general ideas have occurred to me while studying the course and progress of this movement and I put them before you so that you may compare them with your own rather than for any

intrinsic novelty they possess. Social problems are full of difficulties and every contribution to their discussion, however insignificant, may be of use. And difficult as they are, solve them we must, for the choice they set before us is the ultimate one of a nation's destiny, to be or not to be.

Efforts made since the Days of Rammohan Roy.

A glance at the progress of the Social Reform movement from its commencement to the present day is apt at first sight to be rather discouraging. It is now more than seven decades since Rammohan Roy and the small knot of enlightened men who supported him, agitated successfully against *Sati*,—the first landmark in the struggle between the forces of progress and reaction. Since then there has been much clamour of discussion and movement and a great appearance of effort on various lines.

There have been great religious movements, the Brahmo Samaj breaking boldly away from Hinduism and building up a new community full of the modern spirit; the Arya Samaj seeking to reform society and religion but clinging to a nationalistic basis: Theosophy and Vedantism trying to set the waters moving from within: not to speak of smaller movements like the Satya Shodhak Samaj started by Mr. Phuely, which celebrated marriages without the intrevention of Brahmins.

There has been movement within the orthodox society itself, different castes attempting to rectify one or two particular evils within their own limits: there have been Conferences and Associations of the separate communities, the Jain Conference, the Mahomedan Conference, the Kayastha Sabha—Sabhas of various castes and sub-castes.

There has been cautious but liberal social legislation by the Government abolishing whatever was intolerable to modern sentiment and liberating the path of advance and progress from the great stumbling-block of active persecution and legal disabilities.

Individuals of influence and reputation have come and gone who have given their intellectual ability or their personal efforts to the cause of progress. And there has been finally this Social Conference of ours established for 18 years which meets annually to discuss and

report progress, seeking to give some centre and point of meeting to so many disconnected efforts.

Progress made in Social Reform.

What is the upshot of all these efforts of these 70 or 80 years, and how far can we assign any improvement to our own exertions ?

To the first question we can answer, that with the slow advance of education there has been some intellectual progress, and the need for social reform is more generally recognised than it used to be. We might point out that the average age of marriage has risen somewhat, though we have not yet succeeded in raising the age beyond that of puberty, as the laws of health and the saner customs of our ancestors dictate. We might observe that caste restrictions against interdining and foreign travel are breaking down, and that an enlightened Government has removed the difficulty in the way of widow-remarriage.

And it might appear that all this represented on the whole an encouraging measure of progress, was evidence of a distinct change for the better.

But when we come to examine the causes at work which have produced the results, we shall have to confess that the prospect is not so re-assuring, we cannot resist the conclusion that we have talked much and done little. For we shall see that these changes are due mostly to the irresistible pressure of circumstances and very little to intelligent and energetic action on our part.

The average age of marriage has risen because of the necessities imposed by the education of boys and the change in the standard of desirability in the bridegroom from state to caste plus education which has made marriage more difficult for girls. Caste restrictions are breaking down because the Railway, the School and College and the public service are b inging men together promiscuously, and foreign travel is becoming more frequent under the tremendous pressure of economic forces.

It is the force of circumstance which is freeing us from our social trammels and not our own desire to be free.

However, let us not dwell on the discouraging features of our slow progress. Let us rather try to understand what we really mean

by Social Reform and, recognising our deficiencies in the past, try to make our future action more spontaneous and intelligent, our progress more dependent on conscious and active endeavour.

National Lines.

But, before going further, I should just like to say something of a tendency which has been visible recently and that is to insist that reform, if it is to be effectual, must run on national lines.

One disadvantage of this idea is that so many meanings have been attached to the phrase. Some, for istance mean by it cautious reform after the manner of Erasmus, others take up an ideal like that of the Arya Samaj, others again mean by it the revival of the purity of earlier conditions without their defects. And many, it is to be feared, make it an excuse for a reactionary policy.

There is, of course, some truth in the position that reform must work along lines natural to the country and our national characteristics. There are some features in our environment which are sufficiently powerful to modify the practical application of any idea, and these account for certain tendencies in national history which persist even through long centuries of foreign influence. It is also true that servile imitation is no reform and is often more useless than the original evil.

But the great truth behind the phrase is that it is the general advance of the nation which is the aim of reform, and that only that is national reform which subserves these national interests.

It matters nothing where the truth comes from. If it serves a national purpose or helps national ends, then it is national whether the form in which we find it is modern or Vedic, European or purely Indian. And we must be eager to find this knowledge and apply it whether it has the sanction of the older ideas or not. We have to look forward to the future of India, we are not going to revive the past.

Therefore we must be a little on our guard in this respect. It is not religious sanction which can guide us in our choice. What the past held sacred is often noble but still more often misunderstood, and we who have to deal with the present will do more by trying to judge of our needs from a practical common-sense standpoint and by using

our reason to guide us as to the utility of past experience and new knowledge.

What we need now is action,—common sense practical measures and not discussion as to whether this or that reform is justified by older traditions or the sacred writings of our ancestors.

Social Reform—What are our Aims ?

A question which often arises is why do we need Social Reform ? We cannot say that our whole society is evil, for every society has its merits and its defects, and the merits are there even if we see the defects more prominently. And it is quite superfluous to exaggerate the evils, for many of them are local, for example Kulinism in a small community of Bengal, or restricted to certain castes,—*purdah* for example. It is also unwise sometimes to take European criticism too seriously, for Europeans do not always see correctly or make allowances, for variety of institutions and customs. Thus they often speak as if our marriage ceremony included consummation as theirs does or imagine that all *purdah* systems are absolute. Another thing to be on our guard against is reform for reform's sake. For instance, the anti-nautch movement would remove what might be an innocent amusement, in a spirit of unreasoning Puritanism. We have few amusements and we gain nothing by abolishing them, though, of course, every thinking person would wish to purify those which are unsound at present.

What then are the objects before the Conference? In what direction does reform seem necessary? The principal measures noted are :—

1. Female Education.
2. Abolition of Infant Marriage.
3. Widow Re-marriage.
4. Abolition of Polygamy.
5. Removal of caste divisions.
6. Intermarriage between sub-castes.
7. Interdining.
8. Freedom of travel and sea-voyages.
9. Raising the position of the castes called low.
10. Temperance.
11. The regulation of public charities.

Now if we examine this list, we shall, I think, find that we can classify the greater number of them under two main heads. (1) Difficulties arising from the caste system. (2) Difficulties in connection with the status of women. These are the two great problems—the solution of which will solve most of the various items mentioned in our list.

Legislation and Persuasion.

What are the methods by which we can deal with these problems? There appear to be two great methods of reform—Legislation and Persuasion. Of these the simpler and swifter is legislation; but on the other hand, it can only deal with particular evils and its effects are less permanent and thorough. In some respects, moreover, it appears more suited to our national temperament, which like that of some continental peoples in Europe prefers Government action to popular initiative. On the other hand, though we do nothing ourselves, we are not above criticising Government action. At the same time, we should be grateful to the British Government for what it has managed to perform in the way of the removal of barbarous customs despite the delicacy of its position and the caution which has necessarily characterised its policy, and we may wish that it might have seen its way to doing more in this direction.

The Governments of Native States, though their scope and activity are much restricted in some respects, may yet discharge a great and useful function and give centres of activity and leading to the progressive tendencies of our society. So far as their opportunities permit, they should strive at the very least not to lag behind the British Government in liberalising the social organisation. A Native State Government which liberalises and perfects its administration is powerfully helping towards the reform of society. May I be permitted in passing to pay a tribute to those of our elder Princes who have given personal examples which should greatly strengthen the forces of progress and on which a younger generation increasingly tends to improve? It would, I think, be an excellent thing if these Princes could find an opportunity of coming together occasionally and exchanging views on the social problems in which they have their common interest.

But we must remember that legislation cannot deal with great barriers which have their roots deep in the social organisation. These only education can deal with, an educated and intelligent appeal to the whole people, which shall produce a general awakening, a general determination to think and act. If we can produce this, then many of the detailed reforms we are discussing will solve themselves. But the movement must be truly general and in earnest and it is perhaps an ideal far from realisation, so that we should not despise smaller efforts at practical reform, if they are all we can deal with at present.

Caste.

Let us now examine our two great problems, caste and the status of women. in more detail, endeavouring to understand what they are at present. what are the defects which they impose on the society and what is the reality which they conceal or obscure.

The evils of caste cover the whole range of social life. It hampers the life of the individual with a vast number of petty rules and observances which have no meaning. It cripples him in his relations with his family, in his marriage, in the education of his children and especially in his life. It weakens the economic position by attempting to confine him to particular trades, by preventing him from learning the culture of the West and by giving him an exaggerated view of his knowledge and importance. It cripples his professional life by increasing distrust, treachery and jealousy, hampering a free use of others' abilities, and ruins his social life by increasing exclusiveness, restricting the opportunities of social intercourse and preventing that intellectual development on which the prosperity of any class most depends. In the wider spheres of life, in municipal or local affairs, it destroys all hope of local patriotism of work for the common good by thrusting forward the interest of the caste as opposed to those of the community and by making combined efforts for the common good exceedingly difficult. But its most serious offence is its effect on national life and national unity. It intensifies local dissensions and diverse interests, and obscures great national ideals and interests which should be those of every caste and people, and renders the country disunited and incapable of improving its defects or of availing itself of the advantages

which it should gain from contact with the civilisation of the West. It robs us of our humanity by insisting on the degradation of some of our fellowmen who are separated from us by no more than the accident of birth. It prevents the noble and charitable impulses which have done so much for the improvement and mutual benefit of European Society. It prevents our making the most of all the various abilities of our diverse communities; it diminishes all our emotional activities and intellectual resources. Again it is the most conservative element in our society and the steady enemy to all reform. Every reformer who has endeavoured to secure the advance of our society has been driven out of it by the operation of caste. By its rigidity, it preserves ignorant superstitions and clings to the past, while it does nothing to make those inevitable changes which nature is ever pressing on us more easy and more possible.

History of Caste.

If we attempt to trace caste down the misty records of our history we are at once struck with one great fact, and that is, whatever it once was, it was never in earlier times the extraordinary and illogical mixture which it is to-day. Society was united and vigorous, caste was no bar to active and healthy intercourse and the system was a natural and practical organisation of society.

In the Vedic period, we can scarcely trace its existence, if at all. Society was too simple to need this differentiation. National life was energetic and united. From this period onwards we can trace its gradual growth, and unfortunately its degeneration. In the Epic period it represents a simple and practical organisation of society, meaning the specialisation of the four great natural divisions of a people. The lines between caste and caste, however, are not rigid apparently and each caste was carefully adjusted to the others. Anuloma (अनुलोम) and Pratiloma (प्रतिलोम)marriages (*i. e.*, with girls of lower castes or of higher castes) were not unknown. Then followed the period in which in spite of a tremendous output of intellecutal activity the first signs of decay appear. Caste has become more rigid, there is a struggle between caste and caste, and apparently the Kshatriya, falling from his high ideal, lost power, the Brahmin degenerated: and

though the evil effects of this did not appear at once, the balance of powers in the society was upset. Caste entirely lost elasticity, subdivisions arose, and there comes a period in which disorganisation rapidly follows.

That caste had become an evil and no longer a help, is shown by the position it occupies in Buddhism, which was a revolt no less against caste than against the over-heavy burden of ceremonies, rites and sacrifices Gautama, who was a Hindu preaching to Hindus, would not have removed caste from his teaching had it been a healthy form of national life. And though it survived, the weakness and disunion of the nation and the failure of the caste system is shown by the collapse of Indian Society before foreign invasion.

Then follows a long period of darkness in which caste became an antiquated tradition, an heirloom to which men clung as connecting them to a past which they felt to be glorious but could not understand until with the Brahmanical Reaction it became a vast congeries of meaningless subdivisions, which, increasing generation by generation, intensified by the disturbed and evil days which preceded the period of Mahomedan conquest, was still further intensified as a national bulwark, the last possession left to the conquered, until it has reached the paralysing chaos in which our society stands to-day.

Caste in Mahratta History.

Some aspects of caste are so powerfully typified in Mahratta history that I may be excused a brief reference to some of the most striking instances here. We may note, as an instance of the obstacles which it throws in the way of reformers, the persecution not only of Sadhus from the humbler castes like Tukaram and Chokha Mela but of liberal Brahmins like Ekanath, by the ignorant Bhats and Bhikshuks. The ignorance of priests has always been and is a great stumbling-block in the way of reformers since old times when the great Sankaracharya himself was outcasted by them. If this could be removed, progress would become a much smoother affair.

We may note as an example of the inhuman arrogance of caste the way in which Mahars forced to sit down in the time of the Peshwas when they met a superior in the streets, lest their shadow should

touch him, or, as tradition says, were forbidden to spit on the roads and had to carry a vessel for the purpose round their necks. And yet this was due to the supremacy of a single caste and was not typical of the times of Mahratta vigour, when Mahratta Brahman and Parbhu worked harmoniously for a common cause, when the other castes were forced to suffer the touch of Mahars and Kolis, for these fought shoulder to shoulder with them in their battles, when Hindus drank water from the hands of Mahomedans and installed Mussalman Pirs as their household gods. We see in all this the liberalising effect of political activity and expansion upon society. But we note also how the caste spirit revives when less strenuous times arrive; we see it in the quarrels of Kokanastha and Deshastha, in the fights about the ceremonies and status of Shenvis and Parbhus, and in the jealousies and dissensions of Mahrattas, Parbhus and Brahmans that became so rife in our later history.

Practical Question—What to do?

We come now to the practical question, what are we to do with this social incubus? It is surely obvious that it is an antiquated survival of an institution which has changed much and for the worse. All it meant at its best has long since vanished, and we surely do not propose to retain its degenerate developments. From a common-sense point of view one might almost wonder that it continues to exist at all, so meaningless a husk has it become. To remove it is undoubtedly our ultimate object. If you cannot do it at once, at least hold it up boldly before all men as the ideal at which we aim. And in the meanwhile, since something is better than nothing, we shall do well to clear away its externals and the useless minute forms which encumber our daily life and prevent the increase of fellow-feeling: to promote free social intercourse and interdining between all castes and intermarriages at least between sections of the same caste. If we can do this we shall get rid of many invidious distin tions and inconveniences, make unity easier to develop and facilitate the handling of particular problems.

Remove Caste Spirit.

Do not, however, imagine that to remove partially or wholly the external form of caste will be a panacea for all our ills. Many of us

who decry the form cherish the spirit, pride ourselves as being Brahmins or fight to enrol ourselves as Kshatriyas in Census Lists, because this argues Aryan descent. So that, you see, we can turn even an Ethnological Report, which was certainly not meant for that purpose, into an igniter of dissension and ill-feeling. This is only the spirit of caste in a new form. To remove the externals of caste will do us no good if it does not help to the exorcism of this spirit from our hearts.

Status of Women.

It is not necessary for me to dwell upon all those familiar questions which cluster round the question of the status of women. I would merely point out that what we may most legitimately object against each is that they involve a bad economy of social forces.

Early marriage, especially now that the checks on early consummation are breaking down, must increase death and disease among the mothers, swell infant mortality and injure the physique of the race. It interferes also with the proper education of women.

A too strict *purdah* mutilates social life and makes its current dull and sluggish by excluding the brightening influence of women.

By the denial of education to women we deprive ourselves of half the potential force of the nation, deny to our children the advantage of having cultured mothers and by stunting the faculties of the mother affect injuriously the heredity of the race. We create, moreover, a gulf of mental division in the home and put a powerful drag on progress by making the women a great conservative force that clings to everything old, however outworn or irrational.

Polygamy and Widow-Remarriage.

The existence side by side of customs like polygamy and the prohibition of widow-remarriage similarly shows a bad organisation of society. The one keeps up an unduly low standard of morality among men, the other demands an impossibly high standard from women. To enforce the standard we suppress our feelings of humanity and affection and inflict severities upon widows in order to keep their vitality low and make them less attractive; yet the impossibility remains and the laws of nature we have ignored avenge themselves

for, in spite of our harsh measures, we fail to preserve even an ordinary standard of morality in this much ill-treated class.

We do well, therefore, in protesting against these evils and striving for their alteration.

Status of Women in Successive Periods.

We should, however, realise where the evil lies it is in the lowering of our ideas about women and the relations of the sexes. We get no detached picture of status of women in the Vedic Age, but we know enough to see that it was free and honourable as in all early Aryan societies. We have a fuller idea of the Epic and Rationalistic Periods. More secluded than in Modern Europe, women were yet allowed a rational freedom, they were taught liberal knowledge and beautiful accomplishments, and a few were distinguished in science and philosophy. They were trained to be helpmates as well as devoted wives to their husbands. Their position, therefore, was not materially inferior and in some respects, as notably in the laws concerning female property, was superior to what obtained in England until 1870 ; and even the point reached in 1870 was anticipated by the author of the Mitakshara मिताक्षर who wished to make men and women equal in respect of rights of property.

In the literature of the Buddhistic period we see the first signs of change. Women are as a class debarred from studying the Vedas, though there seem to have been exceptions and Buddhism admitted spiritual equality between the sexes. Monastic disparagement of women mingles in Manu and other writers with expressions of respect. The idea of wifely devotion as typified in Sita predominates over the idea of the helpmate, seclusion seems to have become gradually stricter and widow-remarriage was looked on with disfavour. But women are still educated and, on the whole, respected.

A change came when the disturbed times of ignorance and foreign invasion were disintegrating society. The ideal of wifely devotion and purity was exaggerated beyond all reason and all customs modified in this spirit. *Sati*, the entire prohibition of widow-remarriage, early marriage and the rest were established in our society and, in some parts of India, the strictest Mahomedan type of *purdah* was

adopted. Ignorance, increasing among men, became absolute among women.

Our Ideals.

In both these two great problems, then, what is that we seek ? It is nothing new or revolutionary. Our real aims are the true and noble ideals of our forefathers, ideals eternally beautiful, eternally worthy the search of men. Only the form in which those ideals are presented to us is not always the same, and it is the ideals which we seek and not the form.

What for instance is the ideal underlying castes ? Might we not say that it is the recognition on the one hand of the individuality of every man, that which distinguishes him from every other, which gives him his own work, his own value in the world, and on the other the combination of these countless individualities into that united and organised life which we call a society. his organised relations to the rest of society.

You remember the Sloka,

ब्राह्मणोस्यमुखमासीद्बाहूराजन्यःकृतः ।
ऊरूतदस्ययद्वैश्यः पद्भ्यांशूद्रो अजायत ॥

Well, that is a beautiful metaphor pointing out the differentiated activity which must exist in every society. But I wish to draw your attention to one point ; no caste is nobler or more necessary than any other any more than one limb or another in the body.

If the old broad lines of differentiated activity typified by the old caste system do really represent a fact in Nature, leave it to Nature to work out that fact, do not hamper her by clinging to an artificial growth such as that of our modern system.

And certainly no one system is perfect or everlasting, least of all divine. It is not only in India that there have been castes and that caste systems have arisen and perished. In Peru. in Egypt, even in mediæval Europe, we can trace the growth of analogous systems and can watch their fall.

Like all other organisations of society, caste, in any particular form represents a stage in evolution. For a time it is beneficial, for a time

it decays, and finally there arises from its ruin an organisation different indeed but better adapted to the needs of the time, a better and more vigorous form for the expressions of the eternal ideals in practical life. So, too, with the problems affecting the status of women. That at which we are aiming is the restoration of conditions in which our Indian womanhood can once again produce types as noble and as great as those which glorify our national history. There need not be the same conditions which existed then. Times have changed and the world is very different ; but our aim, our ideal is the same and we seek to make it true.

There, indeed, is the pith of the whole matter. We ignorantly mistake the form for the ideal. Make the ideal true and the form matters nothing. Let India be inspired with a new grasp of these truths which are for ever old and ever new and these smaller problems of caste and woman's position will solve themselves. Some causes of our present condition are other than social—some are economic ; some again trouble us because we are uncertain what we want and cling helplessly to the old and familiar. But if we can but see that which India needs, what she once possessed and expressed so beautifully, if we will but seek for her a new expression for her national life, then we may be content with the future and leave the question of the precise form which it will take to the great forces which regulate the destinies of humanity and the outward sweep of evolution.

Laws of Social Development.

Before we go farther it will be worth while to recall briefly the principles on which the scientific study of society is based, for it is upon these that our deeper understanding of social problems depends. We know that the life of society like that of an individual organism, is an unending struggle with its environment, which is partly invariable and partly variable. The invariable elements are climate, natural position, physical forces : the variable are of numerous kinds such as economic position, geopolitical surroundings and contact with other civilisations The society must be able to meet its environment, and the principal weapon it wields for the purpose is the knowledge it possesses. We remember in this connection that the social organism evolves like the individual and, as it develops its organs of knowledge,

proceeds through different stages; it first records simple facts, then proceeds to complex and finally classifies and generalises.

As it develops knowledge, it becomes more fit to deal with its environments. For it begins properly to understand cause and effect and can better handle causes so as to bring about the effects it desires. Lastly we remember that society is not alone but, like the individual, has to strive and compete with other social organisms. In this struggle the fittest will survive, and the fittest means the most efficiently organised, the one which assimilates knowledge most successfully and uses it to readjust all its parts to new environments. The individual has several kinds of relations with his surroundings, social. with his fellows such as class and caste and the relations of man and woman, economic with his competitors, political with the State. Society accordingly must also have its various aspects, its social, economic and political organisation, none of which it can afford to neglect in its battle for existence.

These relations must be based on principles of justice, mutual interest and truth. And the society must reflect these conditions in each sphere of life, politically by a just balance of powers in the State, economically by a careful balance of all interests, and socially by a careful balance of the rights and privileges of every individual. If this delicate balance be upset, the society must degenerate, its organisation is defective and will produce abnormal devolopments, such for instance as our modern caste system; and until the balance is restored, that society will be weak, discordant and backward, the prey of any society better organised than itself.

Practical lessons from these laws.

What then are the practical lessons we draw for our own guidance from these well-known principles of the science of society? We learn that it is suicidal to cling to a more primitive state of knowledge and reject new light. The old knowledge related all facts to the single idea of religion, the new classifies life and restricts the sphere of religion to the high spiritual matters with which it is properly concerned. What is to be gained by clinging to the older and less developed system and applying the solemn sanctions of religion

to matters of ordinary convenience which do not really affect our spiritual welfare. We only make life cumbrous and hamper our efficiency. Indeed these rules and restrictions which become too many and irksome for men to observe, help to demoralise us: for either we get accustomed to breaking what we regard as the ordinances of religion and what, therefore, it ought to be our aim and interest to observe or turn a large number of innocent acts into secret vices: in either way we come to think of nothing but leading a double life.

The next thing we learn is the importance of a more accurate knowledge of the laws of nature; we must rationalise our knowledge and no longer cling to superstitions. To take some homely instances, the ideas of our people are full of strange theories of cause and effect and indications of coming events such as that a lizard falling on the body causes misfortune, that the sight of a widow on certain occasions is inauspicious, that marriages can best be determined, by comparing horoscopes, that various marks on the body can be interpreted in terms of character or future events, that it is bathing in the Ganges or paying money to Brahmans and not one's own conduct that purifies the mind and soul, not to speak of hundred more of the kind. Similar ideas, such as the religious importance of wearing the Shovale (सावेले) at meals regluate our daily life. All this obviously typifies a primitive state of mind which if encouraged in small things, must pursue us into those which are higher. A society which persists in beliefs of this nature, is not likely to understand cause and effect in its own social arrangements. We must get rid of superstition in great things as well as small and govern our actions by a rational consideration of objects and means.

We must always assimilate New Knowledge.

Our next lesson is that we must accept new knowledge and assimilate it whether it comes from without or within. A society armed with bows and arrows, confronted with others which use the modern rifle, must arm itself at once if it is to go on existing; and the same principle applies in all matters. We must not only accept knowledge intellectually, but have the moral courage to alter our actions and customs in accordance. Otherwise our knowledge is of little use: for the true test of knowledge is its practical utility in equipping the

society for the actual problems of life. If, then, our customs put us at a disadvantage in the struggle for life, it is useless to persist in them merely because they are our own or old.

And lastly we learn that we must not exaggerate the importance and probable effect of social reform, since it is only one of the aspects of readjustment. We must advance socially, economically and politically if we wish to reorganise our society so as to survive.

Change in the Environments.

Science and Western civilisation have thrown us into entirely new environments. We were a secluded country, economically self-sufficient, socially a people to ourselves, able to develop our own peculiar institutions, politically almost a separate continent. Our internal organisation absorbed everything that entered the country without losing its own peculiar character. All this is no longer possible. We are exposed to the competition of social organisms economically and socially better equipped and in the highest state of unity and organisation and have no longer the defence of a comparative seclusion. Science has forced down barriers and made us merely one district of the ever-narrowing world. We did not recognise this fact sufficiently when the new environment first began to work upon us. Face to face with disciplined European armies and organised administrations, men of genius like Mahadaji Scindia, Hyder Ali, and Ranjit Sing adopted the military methods of the new-comers, but no indigenous power realised the necessity of readjustment all along the line; they had, therefore, to succumb in the struggle for existence. Now, at least, we should recognise the necessity. We must strive for a more elastic and efficient economic organisation, we must give up customs which keep us physically weak or unenterprising and especially those institutions or prejudices which divide man from man, caste from caste, religion from religion. Increased communications and inevitable contact urge us on the road with or without our consent. Science has given us a mass of new knowledge which we can utilise for the purpose. It only remains for us to decide whether we shall yield slowly to necessity or get the most instead of the least advantage out of the change by a voluntary and wisely chosen adaptation of means to the end in view.

Theory of the Inexorability of Physical Forces.

Many of us seem to doubt whether we can survive in the struggle They take refuge in European theories of racial inferiority or inexorable physical forces, especially the influence of climate. This is the substitution of a new fatalism based on a misconception of science for the old which was based on a misconception of Karma, and should be combated at every turn.

If these theories were true, our race would never have played any part in the history of civilisation. Yet the same people under the same climatic influences reached heights in religion, philosophy, science, architecture and literature which no contemporary nation surpassed. They were eqally successful in material pursuits, in arts and industries, agriculture, war and administration. They produced not only poets, philosophers, scholars and scientists, but administrators and leaders among the most able in history, and this is true from the ancient days of Chandra Gupta and Asoka, Vikramaditya and the Senas and Guptas, down through the Moghuls and their great generals and administrators to the recent times of Sivaji, the leaders of the Maratha Confederacy and Ranjit Singh.

European Superiority recent and due to Scientific Organisation.

The superiority of Europe is a fact at the present day; but is it really an eternal and unalterable law of nature? Does history bear out these pseudo-scientific generalisations? On the contrary, it is during the last three hundred years only, since indeed men like Bacon discovered a juster method of inquiry into the laws of nature which enabled Western nations to economise effort and rationalise life, that Europe has taken the lead over other parts of the world. The superiority is not due to climate or physical causes or to our inbred inferiority but to a more scientific organisation of political, social and economic life.

Our Natural Resources.

There is no reason why we also should not progress if we follow their example. Our natural resources are excellent, fighting classes like the Rajaputs, Mussalmans, Sikhs, Gurkhas and Marathas;

intellectual classes with a capacity for administration and public affairs like the Brahmins, Kayasthas and others ; born traders like the Banias and Bhatias, Bohras, Memons and Parsees, a peasantry superior to many European peoples in thrift, patience, diligence, kindness, domestic affection and orderly habits—the common and useful qualities that preserve a race. Yet with all these splendid resources what sort of existence are we leading ?

The Cause of Our Failure.

It is no natural deficiency that is to blame but bad organisation, antiquated methods and our own Karma. We ignore the sanctity of natural sympathy and co-operation and forget that the interest of the whole society is the higher interest of the individual ; we base our actions and institutions on favour and privilege instead of equity and justice. Let us revise our ideas and change our methods to suit better knowledge and new circumstances. That is the whole meaning of reform, and if we realise and carry it out in practice, we need not be afraid of natural forces which can always be met and utilised by science and human endeavour.

The determining powers of our destiny are not physical forces nor chance, nor Kismet nor Necessity, those gods mostly of our own making on whom we cast the responsibility for the consequences of our actions. No, gentlemen, man is man and master of his fate. Our future depends on the use we ourselves make of the opportunities which knowledge places in our hands

Methods.

To take full advantage of the new and favourable features in our environments we must take care that our education is much more widely spread and practical. It is the general ignorance of the country which renders our social progress so slow. That ignorance must be removed. And I should just like to say one thing about the attitude often displayed towards social reform and social reformers. There have been cases where men who have argued splendidly for social reform, fail to carry out their principles in actual life. Their failure does not invalidate the truth of their preaching ; though they would indeed have stood otherwise on a higher pedestal, for as the Marathi poet Tukaram says :—

बोले तैसा चाले । त्याचीं वंदीन पाउलें ॥

but a truth remains a truth even though the man who preaches cannot put it into practice. What we need is some practical working organisation for the social ideals and new knowledge which we need amongst all classes of the community.

Sadhus; now useless though they might do much.

We have already a large body of men who might be doing some of this work for the country, just as the great religious orders of the Middle Ages did so much for Europe. I refer to the countless body of Sadhus who are roaming over the country. But they must be trained, and they must have something useful to say. For asceticism is evil unless it be an humane asceticism, one not divorced from philanthropy. He who surrenders life to help his fellows is a saint, but not he who becomes a beggar to avoid labour or responsibility, or retires to a jungle to save what Kingsley would have called " his own dirty soul."

Present Propaganda.

We have, as it is, a fair amount of propaganda. The country indeed, owes much to this Social Conference which has done a great deal to make discussion on our social problems general among educated men. Many individuals also by their speeches and writings have placed much of the available knowledge and much new light on the subject in the hands of the inquirer. As a result of their efforts we have already a large literature of Social Reform. I could wish, indeed, that our caste sabhas and conferences would record not only their conclusions but their discussions and differences also ; for if the contentions on each side could be put on paper and published, it would have a great educative effect. It would be, too, a valuable document for posterity picturing the ideas of our countrymen in an interesting period of transition.

A Practical Organization.

Still we need something more insistent, busy and popular. Active and energetic associations organised somewhat on the lines of the Arya Samaj and even of Christian Missionaries are what we want.

Such an organisation should penetrate into every village in the country to bring to the people this new knowledge in an attractive and telling form: and then we may hope that the Social Reform movement will have less obstacles to contend with and will advance more rapidly.

But social reform cannot stand alone. The social aspect of a society is closely connected with the economic and political aspects. The advantage of one affects both the others. Therefore we cannot hope for general improvement in social conditions until we have conquered some of our economic difficulties and have realised more fully the opportunities which exist for the development of a sane political life.

Social Reform and Economic Development.

Indeed we may look for considerable assistance in social reform for the economic development. Industrial progress has already done much to break down the barriers of caste and will do more. If India can become richer she will have more leisure for the consideration of her needs, more capital to devote to the encouragement of her resources and the education of her people to make the most of them. A more active, commercial life must bring all classes of people together and force upon their attention, as nothing else can, the great common interests which unite them.

Political Sphere.

Again in the political sphere there is much which we can do. I am not one of those who believe that a foreign Government is necessarily a bar to the political advance of a country. The most that we can hope from any Government is that it will work for the best interest of the people which it governs. So long as it identifies their interests and its own, so long as it works for their encouragement with an efficient administration and true zeal for national progress, that Government is national. But there is one change which I think would mean a very great deal to India. I believe it would bring to light and draw to a point in a very practical way the real and vital political interests which all classes of the community have in common and do much to strengthen the position of the Government in this country, and to enable all our countless classes, creeds, peoples and castes to unite in

working together for the common good of India. I mean the establishment of a permanent Court in this country with some member of the KING-EMPEROR'S Family as a permanent Viceroy. When there is such a Viceroy who might devote his life to India and realise more fully that all his interests were bound up with those of the country, there would be, I believe an outburst of patriotic loyalty such as would seem almost incredible to us. I believe that that would serve more than anything else to draw together all energies and activities into work for the common weal and I trust that the ideal may not seem impracticable and only a dream.

Spirit of Brotherhood and Union.

Meanwhile let us do our best to encourage spirit of brotherhood and union. We boast of our philosophy which teaches us to see

सर्वभूतस्थमात्मानं सर्वभूतानि चात्मनि ।

Why then do we forget the practical application of that great truth in the sphere of conduct ?

यस्तु सर्वाणि भूतान्यात्मन्येवानु पश्यति ।
सर्व भूतेषु चात्मानं ततो न विजुगुप्सते ॥

Is it in pursuance of this golden rule of our religion that we despise and shrink from those who belong to different or what we choose to call lower castes? Or that we fill our social and public life with mutual distrust, jealousy and disunion ? If we really believed in the One Spirit in all, we would not maltreat His manifestations ; we would realise that we despised and hated Him in despising and hating our fellows. Once more, I say to you, let us return to our own ideals, understanding them better and trying to carry them out both as individuals and as a nation. Let us try to realise the virtues and merits of those who are different from ourselves. Let us try and find the advantages in those who differ from us in caste and not insist on their deficiencies. Let us try and keep before us that ideal of the future of India as the aim to which we are all working; and let us judge our fellowmen by the work which they do to make that future great and united. Let us recognise the selfless and devoted work which many have done for India in the sphere of administration, philanthropy or science, of action or of knowledge, whether they were

Christians, Hindus, Mahomedans or Parsees. and let us try to realise that such work is the true claim to nationality. He who loves the country well enough to give his life for it, he is the true Indian; not he who merely boasts his own superiority because of some fancied advantage which he derives from caste privileges and traditions. There is only one spirit of truth; there is only one truth behind all ideals; and all who are working in that spirit towards these ideals are doing the noblest of which they are capable, no matter what the caste or race or creed may be. That is the spirit which must animate us if we are going to work for India and hope to have any successful reform in the future.

V.

[At the Industrial Conference held at Calcutta in December 1906 H. H. the Gaekwar delivered the Inaugural Address and spoke as follows:]

MR. PRESIDENT, DELEGATES TO THE CONFERENCE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—It was only last month, on my return from a tour in Europe and America, that your able and energetic Secretary, Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, called on me, and conveyed to me the Industrial Committee's unanimous request that I should attend this Conference and deliver an Inaugural Address. I naturally felt some hesitation in acceding to this request, partly because of the pressure of administrative work owing to my recent return from a foreign tour, and partly because I am aware that there are others who are better qualified than myself to advise you in the noble work which you have undertaken.

But, Gentlemen, your Secretary was not to be put off by these reasons. He pressed me to accede to the request of the Industrial Committee, and was good enough to assure me that by so doing I would be rendering some service to the great cause which we all have at heart. To this argument I felt it my duty to yield. I feel very strongly that to help in the industrial movement of the present day is a duty which devolves on all of us equally.

Whatever be our vocations in life, we cannot be untrue to this duty without being untrue to ourselves and our country. And I feel to-day, as I have always felt and declared, that our interests are one and the same: whatever helps and elevates you, helps and elevates us;

whatever retards your progress retards ours. And, furthermore, I am strongly convinced that our activities in all different departments of life, political, social and industrial, are so correlated that we shall never make any marked progress in one without making similar progress in all.

The three seemingly diverse currents of intellectual activity converge towards the same head-works and feed the same main stream of life. Unless we extend our horizon and take a less parochial view, we can ill-understand the value and place of each of these component parts in the great machinery of progress.

Past History.

Gentlemen, I do not propose to take much of your time with an account of the industries of India in the ancient times, but a brief reference to some notable facts will perhaps not be unsuitable on an occasion like this. You are all aware that India was famed for her cotton fabrics from very ancient times; and antiquarians tell us that Indian cotton found its way to Assyria and Babylon in the remote past. Indigo, which is peculiarly an Indian produce, has been detected by the microscope in Egyptian mummy cloths, and Indian ivory and other articles were probably imported into ancient Egypt. There can be little doubt that the old Phœnicians carried on a brisk trade with India, and much of the spices and precious stones, ebony, gold and embroidered work, with which they supplied the Western world, came from India.

The Greeks rose in civilization at a later date; and Herodotus, generally called the Father of History, speaks of Indian cotton as "wool growing on trees, more beautiful and valuable than that produced from sheep."

A brisk trade between India and the Western world was carried on during the centuries preceding the Christian era, and as Rome rose in power and importance, and Alexandria became a flourishing mart, the trade increased in volume. Silk threads, sapphires, indigo and cotton fabrics were exported from the mouths of the Indus; and the important sea-port town of Broach, then called Bharukatcha by the Hindus, and Barygaza by the Romans, imported gold, silver and other

metals, glass, corals and perfumes; and exported precious stones, muslins, cotton fabrics, ivory, ebony, pepper and silk.

The Roman Empire declined after the third century. An Eastern Empire was founded with its new capital at Constantinople, and that place attracted to itself much of the Asiatic trade which used to flow before through Alexandria.

India was the scene of frequent invasions during the centuries succeeding the Christian era, and Scythians and Huns desolated her western provinces. But a great chief and warrior, known to our literature under the name of Vikramaditya, at last turned back the tide of invasion, and India was virtually free from foreign raids from the sixth to the tenth century. It was within this period that Chinese travellers, Fa Hian, Houen Tsang, and others visited India as religious pilgrims, admired the arts, industries, and manufactures, and wrote on the Hindu temples and Buddhist monasteries, which existed side by side in every large town. Hindu traders founded settlements in Java and the other islands; and it was in a Hindu ship, sailing from Tamralipti or Tamlook, that Fa Hian left India. Those of you who have been to Europe and visited the continental towns may have seen images of Hindu gods and goddesses in the Museum of Leyden taken there by the Dutch from Java, where Hindu religion and learning were introduced by traders and settlers from India.

Venice was the channel of trade with India after the close of the dark ages; but the glory of Venice departed with the discovery of a new route to India round the Cape by Vasco de Gama about the close of the fifteenth century, and Portugal rose in power and commercial enterprise as Venice declined. In the sixteenth century, all the southern sea-board of Asia as far as China was practically under the commercial control of Portugal. But the Dutch replaced the Portuguese in the seventeenth century, and, like the latter, enriched themselves by the Indian trade. Likewise the English appeared on the scene a little later and wrested from the Dutch a large share of the Eastern trade in the eighteenth century. It is remarkable that, within the last thousand years, nation after nation in Europe has risen to power and to great wealth mainly through the Eastern trade. Constantinople, Venice, Portugal, Holland and England have successive

ly been the carriers to Europe of the rich manufactures of India, as the Phoenicians and the Arabs were in the ancient times.

When England obtained territorial possessions in India in the eighteenth century, her commercial policy towards India was the same as her policy towards Ireland and her American Colonies. Her aim and endeavour was to obtain raw produce from her dependencies and to develop manufacturing industry in England. She repressed manufactures elsewhere by unequal tariffs in order to develop her own manufactures. The American Colonies freed themselves from this industrial servitude when they declared their independence; but both Ireland and India suffered. Industries in both these countries steadily declined early in the nineteenth century; manufacturing industries progressed by leaps and bounds in England, and the invention of the power-loom completed her industrial triumph.

Since then England has slowly adopted a fair and equitable commercial policy and repealed Navigation Acts and unequal tariffs. And to-day England stands forth a pre-eminent free-trader to all the world; and this brings me, Gentlemen, to the industrial history of India of our own times.

Present situation.

The triumph of machinery has been the triumph of our age: the victory of steam and electricity will always be memorable among the decisive battles of the world. The rise of power-looms, for instance has been stealing a march over the hand-loom workers, and the numbers employed in cotton weaving in India have declined by 23 per cent., even within the last decade. Even the ginning and the pressing of cotton has so extensively participated in the use of improved machinery that its hand-workers have dwindled by fully 86 per cent. And yet it is this textile industry itself which shows how, with intelligent adaptation to the improved methods of art, our Indian industries can compete with the manufactures of Europe. The Bombay mills give daily employment to about 1,70,000 factory operatives, while so many as 30,000 more are maintained by the ginning presses. Some forty years ago we had only 13 cotton mills in all India. The number rose to 47 in 1876, to 95 in 1886, to 155 in 1895, and to 203 in 1904: and to-day the number of our cotton mills is still larger. We had less than

4,000 power-looms forty years ago: the number was over 47,000 in 1904. We had less than 3,00,000 spindles 40 years ago: the number exceeded five millions in 1904. These are insignificant figures compared with the huge cotton industry of Lancashire; but they show that we have made steady progress, and that we may fairly hope to make greater progress in the future if we are true to our aims and our own interests. Our annual produce of yarn is nearly six hundred million lbs. in weight; and it is interesting to note that out of this total outturn about 30 per cent. is used mostly by our hand-loom weavers.

Gentlemen, it is with a legitimate pride that the Indian patriot marks this silent progress in the mill and hand-loom industries of India, which, next to agriculture, are the largest industries in this land. New mills have been started in Ahmedabad and Bombay within the last two years, largely as a result of the present *Swadeshi* movement. In the poor State of Baroda, too, this progress is marked. For more than twenty years the State worked a cotton mill in the capital town to give an object-lesson to the people and to encourage private companies to start similar mills. The call has now been accepted, and a private company has at last been formed, and has purchased the State mill from our hand with the happiest results. Recently a second mill has been completed, and is about to start work, and a third mill is now under coustruction. More than this, the number of ginning factories, and other factories using steam, has multiplied all over the State, and the number of hand-looms has doubled in some towns. All the coarser counts of yarn in the Indian markets are now mostly of local spinning; an insignificant fraction alone being imported from abroad. In the case of yarn of higher counts, however, the local manufacture falls much below the supply of the foreign mills. Muslin and finer fabrics can be imported much more cheaply, and in a more pleasing variety of design and colour, than can yet be locally produced; and the hand-looms of the East, once so far-famed for the *finesse* of their fabrics, have now dwindled into small importance. Prints and *chintz* from France, England and Germany are still extensively imported to meet not only the local demand, but also the demand of markets across the Indian Frontier in Persia and Afghanistan.

Thus, though there is reason for congratulation in the rise of our textile industries, there is yet greater reason for continued toil and earnest endeavour. We are still at the very threshold of success. Our cotton mills produced less than 600 million yards of cloth last year against over 2,000 million yards which we imported from other countries. Here is scope for indefinite expansion. We exported cotton of the value of 213 millions to foreign countries, and imported in return for this raw material cotton manufactures of the value of 390 millions. We are thus producing only a fourth of the mill-made cloth which the nation requires. And we should not rest till we are able to manufacture practically the total supply needed by our countrymen.

Gentlemen, the remarks I have made about the cotton industry of India apply to some extent to the other industries which require the use of steam. Bengal is known for its jute industry, which I believe is increasing year by year, and the number of jute mills has increased from 28 in 1895 to 38 in 1904. Northern India and the Punjab have some six woollen factories, whose produce has increased from $2\frac{1}{4}$ million pounds in weight in 1895 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ million pounds in 1904, and I have every hope that our countrymen, who have been so successful in cotton industry, will broaden the sphere of their operations, and take to jute and woollen industries also.

The silk industry is one of the most ancient industries of India, but declined like other ancient industries under the repressive commercial policy of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Some faint signs of improvement are, however, visible now. Tassar silk is manufactured in many parts of India, and quantities of it are exported to Europe. In Assam, silk still continues to be the national dress of women, and each family weaves silk *saris* for *its* own use. In Bengal some improvements have been recently effected by the adoption of scientific methods of testing the seed. In the Punjab the attempt to re-introduce the cultivation of silk worms has not been attended with marked success. In Kashmir the industry is indigenous, and the State is endeavouring to develop it. Much attention is paid to this industry in the advanced and enlightened State of Mysore. And in the State of Baroda I have been endeavouring to spread and develop the industry. The number of these filatures in India in 1904

was only 75, and the number of silk mills was only 11; but much silk is also produced as a cottage industry.

Gentlemen, so far I have confined myself to the textile industries: and I have scarcely time to refer at any length to the other industries of India. Brass and copper have been used for vessels in India from ancient times, but have been threatened lately by the cheap enamelled ironware of Europe. Aluminium is a new industry, and we are indebted to Mr. Chatterton of Madras for greatly developing it in India.

Recent geological surveys and investigations have brought to light the rich ore of iron which was lying concealed so long in Central India; and there is a great scope for the development of the iron industry. Veins of iron ore are believed to exist in several places besides those where they have been yet explored; and if only a few more enterprising companies like my friend Mr. Tata's spring up and prospect these mines, they have a hopeful future before them. If the quality of the indigenous coal is only improved and means of communication made more easy and cheap, so as to considerably reduce the cost of transport, it would appear more profitable to smelt our iron in our own furnaces rather than import large quantities from abroad. I am glad to find that the able geologist who discovered suitable iron ore for Mr. Tata's scheme, Mr. P.N. Bose, has been selected by your Chairman of the Reception Committee of this Conference. The scheme is still under the consideration of Mr. Tata's son, whom I had the pleasure of recently meeting in England. There were 89 iron foundries in India in 1904, and it is to be hoped that the number will rapidly increase in the near future.

Bengal is rich in coalfields, and out of the 8 millions of tons of coal, worth about 2 crores of rupees, raised in all India in 1904, no less than 7 millions of tons were raised in Bengal. These will seem to you to be large figures; but what are 8 millions of tons compared with considerably over 200 million tons annually raised in England? Our countrymen are engaged to some extent in coal-mining, though greatly hampered in the endeavour both by want of capital and want of technical knowledge, and I am glad the Indian Government have granted scholarships to some young Indians to learn practical coal-

mining in England. The importance of coal consists in this—that its abundance makes every other industry on a large scale possible. Coal and iron have been the making of modern England, more than any other causes.

These are the principal industries of India carried on mainly by steam, and for facility of reference I have put down the figures relating to them and a few other industries in a tabular form below :—

	1895	1904
Cotton Mills ...	148	203
Jute Mills ...	28	38
Woollen Mills ...	5	6
Cotton ginning, cleaning and Press Mills ...	610	951
Flour Mills ...	72	42
Rice Mills ...	87	127
Sugar Factories ...	247	28
Silk Filatures ...	89	75
Silk Mills ...	28	11
Tanneries ...	60	35
Oil Mills ...	163	112
Lace Factories ...	138	128
Iron and Brass Foundries ...	64	89
Indigo Factories ...	8,225	422

These figures will show you at a glance our present situation in relation to the principal industries carried on by steam in India. In some industries, like cotton, we are only at the very threshold of success, and produce only about a fourth of what we ought to produce. In other industries, like woollen and jute, we are indebted almost entirely to European capital and enterprise ; we ourselves have scarcely made a beginning as yet. In a third class of industries, like sugar and tanneries, we have actually lost ground within the last ten years. While in a fourth class of industries, like iron, we are still almost wholly dependent on Europe, the produce of our own foundries scarcely supplying any appreciable proportion of the requirements of India. I repeat, therefore, what I have already said before : there is ground for hope but not for joy or elation ; there are strong reasons for earnest and continued endeavour in the future to secure that success which we are bound to achieve if we are true to ourselves.

And there is one more fact which I would like to impress on you in concluding this brief survey of our present situation. A great deal

of attention is naturally paid to the mill industries of India, and to tea, indigo, coffee and other industries in which European capital is largely employed. We know, however, that the labourers who can possibly be employed in mills and factories form only an insignificant proportion of the industrial population of India. Very much the larger portion of that industrial population is engaged in indigenous industries carried on in village homes and bazaars. India is, and will always remain, a country of cottage industries. Where hundreds of thousands can work in mills and factories, millions and tens of millions work in their own huts; and the idea of greatly improving the condition of the labourers of India merely by adding to mills and factories is only possible for those who form their opinion six thousand miles away. No, Gentlemen; any comprehensive plan of improving the condition of our industrial classes must seek to help the dwellers in cottages. It is the humble weavers in towns and villages, the poor braziers and coppersmiths working in their sheds, the resourceless potters and ironsmiths and carpenters who follow their ancestral vocations in their ancestral homes, who form the main portion of the industrial population, and who demand our sympathy and help. It is they (more than the agriculturists, or the mill and factory labourers) that are most impoverished in these days and are the first victims to famines; and if your Swadeshi movement has brought some relief to these obscure and unnoticed millions and tens of millions in India, as I have reason to believe it has done to a perceptible extent, if it has created a larger demand for their manufactures, widened the sphere of their labours, and brought some light to their dark and cheerless homes, then the movement, Gentlemen, has my cordial sympathy. Help and encourage the large industries, but foster and help also the humbler industries in which tens of millions of village artisans are engaged and the people of India, as well as those who are engaged in the work of administration, will bless your work.

Difficulties and How to Overcome Them.

Gentlemen, in saying all this, I do not by any means ignore or minimise our difficulties. We have to recover the ground which we have lost during the last two centuries. We, in our ignorance and poverty, have to compete with some of the richest, best trained and

most skilful nations on earth. We, with our ancient methods, have to habituate ourselves to modern inventions, and then to beat those modern nations who made those inventions. It is a duel with Western nations with weapons of their own choosing; and with those weapons with which we are still unfamiliar, we must face and conquer those who are past-masters in their use. With the produce of our infant mills and our infant ironfoundries we must oppose the overwhelming flood of manufactured goods which England, Germany and America are pouring into India.

The danger of extinction with which our industries are threatened is therefore imminent. Keep to your conservative methods, cling to your orthodox ways of work, and your industries must perish. Such is the inexorable law of the survival of the fittest and such the admonition which a true Swadeshi movement ought to give you. If the rush of the steam engine and the whiz of electricity, combined with cheap and easy means of transport, have succeeded in dumping your bazaars with the cheap and attractive products of foreign marts, rise to the occasion and learn how to withstand this inroad with intelligent anticipation and skilful adaptation. Learn to force nature into a corner; accost her and bring out her inmost secrets. Harness her powers, tackle her energies, and make of her a handmaid unto man. Work nature to the relief of man's estate. Any competition between skill, capital and organised enterprise on the one hand, and ignorance, idleness and poverty on the other, can only have one result. Learn to combine and co-operate, learn the value of time and the use of money, and the chances of a fairer fight will eventually requite all your efforts.

Swadeshism can be a genuine economic force under the above conditions. It can be a potent weapon of usefulness if properly understood. There is no economic fallacy in that Swadeshi creed that aims at improving the indigenous arts. The genuine Swadeshi ought to secure the maximum of production at the minimum of cost. Patriotism demands that the greater cost and the slight discomfort of using indigenous goods should be cheerfully put up with at the ouset. But remember that no such movement can be permanently successful unless it involves a determined effort to improve their quality and cheapen their cost, so as to compete successfully with foreign products. The

most rigid economist will then have no flaw to find in your Swadeshi armour.

A single instance of the pitiable straits to which our industries have been reduced, on account of the difficulties mentioned above, will suffice. The export trade of Indian cane-sugar has now become almost a matter of past history. The invasion of German and Austro-Hungarian beet-root sugar has driven away Indian sugar from its own stronghold. In spite of the imposition of countervailing duties and extra tariffs the bounty-fed sugar from Europe beats the Indian refiner hollow on his own field; and it is curious to observe how the cane-sugar of India has suffered in the struggle. The reason is not far to seek. Laws can cure only artificial anomalies ; the levy of extra duties can countervail only the adventitious advantage of bounties and subsidies; but what can remedy causes of mischief that lie deeper ingrained in the very constitution of the Indian grower and inherent in the very conditions under which the Indian refiner has to work? The demand for consumption of Indian sugar is large enough; it is even larger than the local refiners can supply ; yet the cost of production is so excessively inflated that it pays more to import the cheap beet-sugar, grown fat on foreign bounties, than to bring the products of her own growing into her markets. The growers and refiners pursue a process involving extravagant waste of raw material : and ignorant of the latest inventions of science or art, they adhere to the methods inherited from their sires with a hide-bound orthodoxy.

The same deficiency in improved methods and perfected machinery has also led to the ruin of the tanning industry of Madras. The curing and tanning of skins by an improved process in America has been found more suitable and more economical than the purchase of skins tanned in India. Similarly the manufacture of synthetic indigo, like other coal tar preparations, has effected a revolution in agricultural chemistry; and the quantities of artificial indigo that the German factories have dumped into the markets of the world at very cheap rates have a very depressing influence on the indigo trade of Bengal. The exports of indigo which in 1895 amounted to about 53 millions in value, dwindled down to the low figure of 6 millions 10 years later, and the decline has been so rapid that it has been a cause of alarm to

an optimist of even a thorough Micawber type. Dyes of no less value than 75 lakhs of rupees were poured into the Indian vats from Germany, Belgium, and Holland in 1905; and these products of aniline and alizarine dyes have completely ousted the Indian dyers from their own markets.

It thus becomes imperative on all of us to endeavour to minimise this helplessness and enrich the industrial resources of our country The trade returns of India are an instructive study. They tell us that in 1905, fully 69 per cent. of our exports were represented by bulky agricultural produce, which gave no employment to local skill and capital, save that employed in tillage. With regard to the total imports in that year, on the other hand, fully 59 per cent. of the entire amount represented manufactured articles, with reference to which we did not know how to supply our own wants, and had to depend upon foreign skill, foreign capital, and foreign enterprise. A fair criterion of the industrial development of a country may safely be sought in the proportion of its exports of manufactured goods to the export of raw material from the country: and secondly, in the proportion of its imports of raw material to the imports of made up or finished goods. The industrial prosperity of a country may be said roughly to vary directly with its exports of manufactures and imports of raw material; and inversely with its exports of raw produce and imports of manufactured goods. This is a safe and reliable canon of industrial economics. One more sad and prominent feature of the foreign trade of India is the constant excess of exports over imports which is not conducive to the prosperity of the people.

Our serfdom to foreign capital and to foreign enterprise can scarcely be more complete. Our railways are financed by capital from Europe: our mines are exploited by savants from America, and even in our daily household needs our dependence upon products of foreign marts continues from day to day. We are being fed and clothed, diverted and entertained, lighted and washed, warmed and comforted, carried and housed, by the foreign artisan. Our arts and industries are standing to-day on the brink of a precipice and are threatened with imminent extinction The problem of saving the country from this perilous plight, and emancipating her economic slavery to the

nations from the West, has become the one topic of absorbing interest: and to find out a cure for this malady has become the one anxious thought of every patriot and of every statesman. You, Gentlemen, have already bestowed your earnest attention to this subject, and I need therefore only make mention of the industries which appear to me to be capable of great progress in the immediate future. The list is appended below:—

1. The textile industry.
2. Carpenters and other wood work.
3. Iron, copper and brass works.
4. Work in gold and silver and jewellery.
5. Masonry and stone works.
6. Pottery and brick and tile making.
7. Dyeing.
8. Tannery and leather works.
9. Rope weaving.
10. Cane and bamboo works, mat making and basket weaving.
11. Glass works.
12. Turnery and lac works.
13. Horn and ivory carving.
14. Embroidery.
15. Sugar refinery.
16. Tobacco curing, and
17. Oil and flour mills.

Out of these industries we might select, to begin with, those for which there is a large demand in our home markets, and whose raw material we have been at present exporting in ship loads for working them into finished products abroad. In the place of large exports of raw vegetable products our endeavour should be to send out large cargoes of manufactured and finished goods. In 1905 we exported oil seeds of the value of 106 millions of rupees, and imported oil of the value of 22 millions. Our oil factories in the Bombay Presidency are said to have supported only 76 operatives at the last census. There is an indefinite scope for the expansion of this manufacturing industry in the country. Oil pressers have diminished by 47 per cent. during the last decade, as it was found more profitable to export oil-seeds and import pressed oil from abroad, than to press it at home by crude and antiquated processes. Besides, as Dr. Voelcker has pointed out to us, to export the entire oil-seed is to export the soil's fertility.

Moreover, every year we export large quantities of wheat and other grain to be ground in foreign mills and import large quantities of flour for our use; while the wheat grinding mills in the Bombay Presidency afford no employment to more than 78 operatives, as the figure for the last census informs us. These are instances of the low state of our industries and of the difficulties under which they suffer. It should be your aim and endeavour to face and conquer these difficulties, and a wise and sympathetic legislation should help your effort and lead you to success.

Four years ago I made some remarks at Ahmedabad which, with your permission, I will repeat to-day.

"Famine, increasing poverty, widespread disease—all these bring home to us the fact that there is some radical weakness in our system, and that something must be done to remedy it. But there is another aspect of the matter, and that is that this economic problem is our last ordeal as a people. *It is our last chance.*

"Fail there, and what can the future bring us? We can only grow poorer and weaker,--more dependent on foreign help. We must watch our industrial freedom fall into extinction and drag out a miserable existence as hewers of wood and drawers of water to any foreign power which happens to be our master.

"Solve that problem, and you have a great future before you, the future of a great people, worthy of your ancestors and of your old position among nations."

These are words which I spoke at Ahmedabad and I repeat them to-day, because we feel the importance of them, perhaps, more than we felt four years ago. We are at a crisis in our national history. The time has come, when we must make arduous and united endeavours for securing our industrial independence, or we shall sink again, perhaps for centuries to come. We must struggle and maintain our ancient position among the industrial nations of the earth, or we shall be betraying a sacred trust and be false to our posterity.

I am sure you will not accuse me of exaggerating the gravity of the present situation. I am sure you all feel, as I feel, that if we do not, at the present critical time, free ourselves from that industrial

serfdom into which we have allowed ourselves to sink, we have no hope for the future. This, as I said before, is *our last chance.*

Exhibitions and Conferences.

And now, Gentlemen, you will permit me to say a few words with regard to the work you have undertaken and the methods by which it can best be done. At a critical juncture in our country's industrial history, the Indian National Congress conceived the *happy* idea of having an Industrial Exhibition in connection with their annual gatherings. From the very first, the Indian and the Provincial Governments rendered every assistance in their power to make these Industrial Exhibitions a success; and, I may add that all classes of the Indian population, Hindus and Mahomedans, Englishmen and Parsis, merchants and manufacturers, graduates, rich landlords and humble citizens, have worked harmoniously towards this common object. These annual exhibitions fulfil a double purpose. First, they inspire manufacturers with healthy emulation, and enable them to make the products of the different provinces know to all India; and in the second place they enable traders and dealers in articles of daily use to obtain accurate information, and collect articles from all parts of India for the use of purchasers in every province and town. These exhibitions have been a success; but let us not deceive ourselves. Compared with the wealth, the variety, the magnitude of Western products, as I have seen them abroad, the results we have achieved here are meagre indeed. An exhibition like this simply serves to emphasise our backwardness in utilizing the resources at hand. Let us never be satisfied until we attain a standard of perfection that will bear comparison with the Western world. With the sympathetic co-operation of the Government, and the quick intelligence of our people, there is no reason why such a result may not be achieved within a generation or two.

Last year, Gentlemen you took a new departure. Not content with these annual exhibitions, you held an Industrial Conference, and the First Conference was held under the guidance and presidentship of my Revenue Minister, Mr. R. C. Dutt. The Conference arranged that its work should proceed all through the twelve months instead of being transacted once in the year. It appointed Provincial

Industrial Committees at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Allahabad, Lahore, and Nagpur. And it also appointed a permanent Secretary and Under-Secretary with head-quarters at Nagpur to compile information, to carry on correspondence, and to help the Provincial Committees in their work all through the year. I am glad to find that this central establishment has not gone to sleep over its work; within this closing year the Secretary and Under-Secretary have collected subscriptions which have more than covered the year's expenditure; they have published in a handy form a report of the Conference, embodying all the valuable and instructive papers which were read at the time; and they have compiled a Directory,—not complete or exhaustive by any means but a fair beginning, - describing different industries in the different parts of India. They have also published a very interesting report of the work done during this year in all parts of India.

Gentlemen, all this is a good outturn of a first year's work. but you should not be satisfied with this. A greater progress is expected from you in future years. The weak point in the Conference organisation seems to me that the Central Office is not in sufficient touch with the Provincial Committees, and is not able to render sufficient help to those Committees to develop the industries of the different provinces. Besides Provincial Committees, you require District and even Town Associations for closer touch with the masses. India is a country of vast distances; and it takes more than a day and a night to travel from Nagpur to some of the provinces. While the Central Office at Nagpur can do much to help the outlying provinces, the provinces can do more to help themselves. By such harmonious co-operation towards a common object, I hope to see the work of the Industrial Conference show a continued progress from year to year. A central organization is needed to co-ordinate all the endeavours that are being made in all parts of India to promote home industries; and the Industrial Conference, with its central establishment and Provincial Committees, was not established a day too soon.

General Education.

And now, Gentlemen, I desire to place a few practical suggestions before you, such as, from my own knowledge and experience, occur

to me. The first and the most important means of promoting our industries is to spread general education amongst the masses. Great and far-reaching changes might be made in the educational system of the country, and I am of opinion that no ultimate solution of our problem will be reached until schools have been provided in every village, and education is taken to the very threshold of the people; until, in fact, education, at least in its primary grades, has been made free and compulsory throughout the land. I am, indeed gratified to learn that the Government of India has already under consideration the policy of making primary education free.

Compulsory Education.

The experiment of free and compulsory education is a novel one in this country; and yet its novelty must not scare us from our duty. I am not, indeed, prepared at this time to recommend the example of some of the socialistic communities of the West in providing free breakfasts, free baths, free boots and everything else but free beds. I have, however, endeavoured to introduce compulsory education throughout the State of Baroda, and hope to see my people benefited by it. The measure was being worked with satisfactory results in one part of the State for a number of years. Emboldened by the success of this experiment, I have decided to make primary education compulsory throughout the State and absolutely free.

Technical Education.

Of scarcely less importance at this time of the day is the need for Industrial Education. I must confess that it is my recent visit to Europe and to America that has impressed me most with the immense importance of technical education in promoting the industries of nations. I may state without exaggeration that education has undergone a complete revolution in the West within the present generation. The great armaments of the Western nations, their vast armies and navies do not receive greater attention and greater solicitude in the present day than that education in industrial pursuit which befits them for the keener struggle, which is continually going on among nations for industrial and manufacturing supremacy.

Among the nations on the Continent of Europe, Germany takes the lead in industrial enterprise ; and among the many technical institutes of that country the King's Technical High School at Berlin is the most famous. A large staff of professors teach over 1,500 students, and applied chemistry in oils and colours as well as dyeing, bleaching, printing on cloths and silks, and leather tanning are taught on a scale unequalled in any other country on the Continent.

France is endeavouring to foster her industries and manufactures in numerous institutes. The *Musee des Arts et Metiers* of Paris has an extensive collection of machines and models of machines, and Science and Arts classes are held there on important technological subjects. The French Government manage the Sevres Royal Porcelain Factory and the Gobelines Tapestry Manufactory ; and frequent exhibitions are held every year in the Grand and Petit Palais of Paris.

Austria is not far behind, and Vienna has technical schools on a smaller scale, each teaching some branch of a technical art ; Italy has her technical academies ; and a polytechnic institute, planned after the Cassanova Institute at Naples, might serve anywhere to collect the best craftsmen and the most promising apprentices under the same roof and extend the moral influence of the teacher to the pupils. All the experts of art would be collected there and interchange ideas about their trade deficiencies and trade difficulties.

In London the City and Guild's Technical College, the County Council's Schools of Arts and Crafts, under Principal Lethaby, and the several Polytechnics are among the many institutions where a practical training in arts and industries is imparted to the people.

The new Universities of Manchester, Birmingham and Leeds pay special attention to technical education as the older universities of Oxford, Cambridge and London take up liberal and classical education. The Municipal School of Technology at Manchester is a monument of the enterprise of that great manufacturing town, and teaches mechanical, electrical, municipal and sanitary engineering, technical physics, industrial and general chemistry, bleaching, dyeing,

printing and finishing of textiles, paper manufacture, metallurgy and various other subjects. Some students from Baroda are engaged in the study of acids and alkali manufacture and plumbing and sanitary engineering in this school.

But of all the countries which I have recently visited, it is America where I found the highest development of industrial education. Every single State in the United States has a State college where technical education is given to students *absolutely free.* No fees are charged in these State colleges, because the proper training of citizens in technical arts is considered a matter of national importance, and lands and annual grants are assigned by the States for the maintenance of these colleges. Every State college teaches agriculture and engineering, and also gives some training to the students in military tactics. Other subjects are also taught according to the resources of these colleges.

Besides these State colleges there are some 43 privately endowed technical institutes all over the United States, where engineering is taught in all its branches, civil, electrical, mechanical and marine ; architecture, drawing, modelling and textile industry are also among the subjects taught. The great Institute of Technology at Boston, with its 2,500 students, the Armour Institute at Chicago with its 2,000 students, and the Pratt Institute at New York with its 1,500 students are the best known among these privately endowed technical institutes.

I need hardly add that the great Universities like Harvard, Yale and Columbia also teach engineering in all its branches ; and, what will surprise you more, almost every high school has classes for manual training, comprising carpentry, smithy, and machine shop.

I have not yet visited Japan, but we all know what Japan has done within the lifetime of one generation. Her victories in the battle field have lately brought that wonderful land among the foremost nations on earth ; but the victories of Nanshan and Mukden are not more brilliant than the triumphs of her industries achieved by a system of technical education which leaves very little to be desired.

Manual Training

My second suggestion to you is that, besides establishing technical schools, you should endeavour to introduce some mannual training in the ordinary schools. The training of the eye and of the hand at an early age is useful to all, even to those who have not to support themselves by manual industry in life. Easy lessons in drawing and modelling, simple instructions in carpentry and smith's work, are good for all students in all ranks of life. Physicians and psychologists tell us that such exercises, by introducing a variety in the course of studies, really refresh and help the brain and make boys and girls more capable of acquiring both learning and arts. And, moreover, to attach some industrial classes to our ordinary schools would have the healthy effect of giving a complete and not one-sided education to our children. The richer classes would be brought more in touch with the humble industries; the poorer classes would acquire that skill and facility in handling tools which can be only acquired at an early age; all people in all branches of life would be impressed with the dignity of manual labour more than they do now in India; and your great endeavour to promote the industries of the land would be greatly helped when the nation receives an elementary technical training in schools. At the same time, it is necessary to bear constantly in mind that no amount of specialised training in manual arts can fill the place of that liberal education and general culture which should serve as the necessary substratum for all kinds of learning. Technical training is a supplement, but not a substitute, for general education, and should never be turned into a fad.

Education Abroad.

I have tried to impress on you, Gentlemen, the importance of founding technical schools and of introducing manual training in our ordinary schools throughout India. Years will, however, pass before this can be done on an adequately extensive scale, so that India can take her legitimate place among the nations of the earth in industrial education and mechanical inventions. It follows, therefore, that for years, and perhaps generations, you must send your young men to Europe, America, and Japan for that complete industrial training which they cannot yet receive at home. Make no mistake, and let no

time-honoured prejudices deter you from travelling to other parts of the earth, and receiving that new light, that new culture, those new ideas, which even the most gifted and advanced nations always receive by mixing with other nations, and which India needs, perhaps, more than any other civilized nation. The healthy results of foreign travels, and of comparing notes with foreign nations, are already manifest in India in every department of life within the last fifty years. Nothing impressed me more upon my recent return to India than the changed attitude of many of my countrymen towards foreign institutions. Men of all ranks have been eager to learn my impressions of Western nations. Such a spirit of enquiry is always healthful if it proceeds from a sincere thirst for knowledge. I was much interested in learning while in America that some two or three thousand students every year go abroad to absorb the best of European methods in Education and in Commerce, while the National Government sends men to all parts of the world to study the products of other lands. England, Germany and France, with all their commercial prestige, do not hesitate to send inquirers to foreign parts. Coming nearer home, we find that hundreds of Japanese young men complete their education in France, Germany, England and America. Such is the desire for knowledge, and the wholeheartedness of the latter, that not only do they acquire a special education in whatever subject they may be engaged, but they also provide themselves with the means of livelihood, not shrinking from the humblest occupations of life.

Japan profited most by sending out her youths to the seminaries of Europe. She owes her present greatness to that illustrious band of her scholar statesmen, who imbibed the first principles in the science of politics and the art of government at the universities of Gottingen and Leipzic. She is to-day the mistress of the Eastern seas because of her student sailors, who acquired their first lessons in naval warfare in the docks of Tilbury and Portsmouth. Her battles are fought and won by her soldiers who got themselves initiated into the mysteries of manoeuvring and the secrets of stratagem on the plains of the Champ-de-Mars and Rastadt. And she bids fair to assume the supreme place in the trade of the Orient on account of her scholar financiers, who have rubbed shoulders with bankers in the counting houses of London,

Berlin and New York. Has the world ever seen a nobler instance of young men architecturing the fortunes of their motherland? Can we conceive a higher example of patriotism for India's sons to emulate? Let us follow their spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion; let us hold up their ideal of national unity and social equality, learn eagerness to acquire the newest methods in all walks of life; imitate their perseverance and patient toil; and we may yet save the fortunes of our country.

I have learnt with pleasure that an earnest and patriotic worker of this province, Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghose, the worthy son of a worthy father, has organized a scheme for sending young men to Europe and America for education; and that a large number of students have already been sent in accordance with this scheme. Nothing gave me greater pleasure, while abroad, than coming in touch with several Bengalis who were studying in Europe and America. Although far away from India, they had the kindest and most patriotic feelings for their native land. India is to be congratulated in having such men. This policy has also been pursued by the state of Baroda for many years past, and young men educated in Europe, at State expense are now serving the State with credit, or finding profitable employment in other parts of India. Several young students have lately been sent to England and Germany, America and Japan; and a scheme is now under consideration to send a limited number of students at regular intervals, mainly to learn the methods of modern industry.

Gentlemen, India to-day is at the parting of ways, and there are great possibilities before her. The people of Bombay, for instance, are looking forward to the use of electricity generated in the Western Ghauts for working their mills. The people of Madras are looking forward to the experiments made in "tree-cotton." All India looks forward to the happiest results from the Research Institute for which we are indebted to the late lamented Mr. Tata. There is stir in the air; and the people are showing signs of awakening. This is hopeful: but let us not forget that years of patient toil are before us, that it is only by patience and perseverance that we can ever succeed in competing with the West in industrial pursuits. We need the spirit of determination, of courage, of confidence in our-

selves and in each other; we need to distinguish between essentials and nonessentials, between the spirit that vivifies and the letter that kills. Let our energies be not distracted in small things.

I now desire, with your kind indulgence, to add a word on the lessons that seem to me to arise from the experience of different nations—lessons which are pertinent to India at this juncture. Turning to ancient Egypt, once the centre of the most advanced civilization of the time, we discover that vast resources—agricultural and mineral—are not alone sufficient to produce a cultured and permanent civilization; though the foundation of all civilizations must fall back in the last analysis upon the natural resources of the country. Egypt in the ancient time had abundant resources, but failing to note the value of human life, failing to conserve the interests of the working masses, she sank from the pinnacle of power and culture into political servitude and academic decay. The nation that despises its humblest classes, that provides for them no opportunity to rise in the social scale and in self-esteem, is building its house upon the sand. The wealth of a nation is the quality of its manhood.

Greece fell from her eminence not from any failure of philosophical or æsthetic or political insight; in these directions she has been the chief source of inspiration for the whole Western world. Pericles, Plato and Aristotle are still household names in West. Athens faded away like a fragrant memory because she failed to look to the economic bases of her prosperity. Had she taken pains to utilize her splendid maritime location for the development of commerce and industry; had she confided her commercial affairs to her freemen instead of her slaves; had she applied the sagacity of her statesmen to the formation of a sound fiscal policy, the story of Athens might have had a different *denouement.* But she wasted her mineral resources, and expended large sums in the erection of great temples of worship and art and learning. Far be it from us to suggest any criticism against a civilization which has been the fountain-head of all subsequent growth in the culture of the West. I would simply point out that without a permenant and stable economic policy, no civilizataion, however enlightened, can long endure. This is the message of ancient Greece to modern India. Be careful of large expenditure, either individually or collec-

tively, which are unproductive. Bid her people forget their caste and tribal prejudices in the common effort to uplift the fortunes of India; bid them find expression for their religious enthusiasm in practical co-operation for the uplifting humanity—of the human spirit in the temple of God. Bid them be free men, economically, socially and intellectually; and no power under Heaven can long keep them in servitude.

Rome, too, has its lesson for India. In the complex and far reaching series of disasters, which led to the downfall of Rome, it would be difficult, indeed, to designate any one factor as the premier cause of the catastrophe. But of this we may be sure, that the highly centralised and paternalistic Government which developed under the later Cæsars, was a potent cause of weakness to the Empire. Private initiative and individual responsibility gave place to state operation of manufactures and industry. Insufficient currency and military oppression drove the husbandman from his plough and the merchant from his counter. The people looked to the Cæsar for corn, and out of the public treasury the hungry were fed, if they were fed at all. The Emperor ruled by force of arms; manufactures were operated by a system of forced labour under the strictest surveillance of the State; the civilian was forced into idleness and vice; the masses into pauperism and dejection. The national spirit decayed, and Rome fell an easy prey to the ravaging hordes from the North.

At this crucial period in India's emancipation, we shall need to keep constantly in mind the failure of Rome. No permanently sound and stable development can occur unless we take pains to educate the masses of our people to a sense of their paramount importance and dignity in the social structure. I conceive it to be the prime duty of the enlightened and well-to-do amongst us to rouse, to stimulate, and to educate the lower classes. We should help them to help themselves. But ever let us beware of paternalism. Not charity but co-operation is the crying need of the hour.

Let our people, as rapidly as possible, be educated in the principles of economics, and let special pains be taken for the development of an honest, intelligent, *entrepreneur* class who will be content to organise

and manage our new industries without sapping their life by demanding exorbitant profits.

Ancient India, too, has lessons for us. I have already spoken of India's rich products and her brisk trade with the West in ancient times. But her mechanical inventions were slow because mechanical work was left to hereditary castes, somewhat low in the scale of society. Our sculpture does not compare favourably with the sculpture and architecture of ancient Greece, and our mechanical progress does not keep pace with the mechanical inventions of modern nations, because our intellectual classes have been divorced for centuries and thousands of years from manual industry, which has been left to the humbler and less intellectual classes. In literature and thought we need fear no comparison with the most gifted nations on the earth. The genius for craftsmanship is also among the people, as is evidenced by the ingenuity and skill of our artisan classes. Make industrial pursuits the property of the nation, instead of the exclusive possession of castes; let the sons of Brahmans and of learned Moulvies learn to use tools in their boyhood; let every graduate, who feels a call towards mechanical work, turn to that pursuit in life instead of hankering after salaried posts, and I am convinced the national genius will prove and assert itself in industries and inventions as well as in literature and thought.

Turning to the Western world of modern times we discover lessons of the most importance for India at this time. As I look back over the last several centuries which have raised the nations of the West from the darkness of mediævalism to their present high degree of civilization, it seems to me that four historical movements are plainly discernable as important factors in that development.

The first movement to which I refer is the capitalistic programme of the last few centuries. I do not need to dwell before such an audience as this upon the advantages of a capitalistic organization of industries, with its attendant systems of credit, banks and exchanges, with its economy of production and its facility of distribution. In the scientific application of capital we still have many things to learn from the nations of the West.

For this reason I am firmly convinced that we need to devote large sums to the founding of chairs of economics in our colleges, and

to the training of our young men in the subtle problems of finance. Let the brightest of our young patriots be sent to Western universities to master the principles of economic polity.

The second movement in the West is the taking of social, political and commercial affairs, which are purely secular in nature, out of the hands of the priests. In the 13th century the Church of Rome and her minions dictated not only matters of religious import, but reached out in many directions to control all the relations of life, both individual and collective. For three centuries the popular will struggled against the secular tendencies of the Church, until led to open revolt by Martin Luther. Since that revolt the principle has been firmly established, and is held with special vigour in America, that the realm of the Church is in matters of moral and metaphysical import, and that social, political and commercial relationships must be left to the individual consciences of those who participate in them. And in this connection I merely desire to point out that in so far as India's religious ideas tend to keep many of our brightest and best minds out of practical affairs, out of the Scientific, political and commercial movements of the time by so far do those religious philosophic systems stand in the way of her progress towards economic independence. Why have the people of India been tardy in grasping the scientific principles of Western industrial organisation ? I shall not presume to answer the question at any length, but content myself with suggesting that we must, as a people, look well to the religious and social foundations of our national life.

Break the monopoly of caste prerogatives and social privileges. They are self-arrogated, and are no more inherent in any one caste than commercial predominance or political supremacy in any one nation. Learn the luxury of self-sacrifice ; elevate your brethern of the humbler castes to your own level ; and smooth all artificial angularities. Always appraise action more than talk, and ever be ready to translate your word into deed.

I desire in the next place to call your attention to the development of national spirit. Throughout Europe for the last two thousand years there has been constant progress in the unifying and the solidifying national life. Petty States and warring principalities have given

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place to strong, compact and homogenous nations, each possessing decided national characteristics, and each working through the patriotic impulses of all its people for the preservation of the national ideal. Now I find in my reading that the most frequent criticism offered against us as a people by candid critics is that we are disunited, many-minded, and incapable of unselfish co-operation for national ends. If this criticism is true, if it is true that India is a mass of small, heterogeneous peoples unfitted for independent national existence, then it behoves us as intelligent men and patriots to put in motion the principles of unity and co-operation. To this end I favour the adoption of a national speech and the inculcation of a national spirit.

And the last movement to which I would direct your attention is the development of science in Europe during the last hundred and fifty years. The story of that development reads like a romance of the olden time. Within that period have been developed railway, steam ships, electric telegraphs, the telephone, friction matches, gas illuminations, knowledge of electricity in all its multiform applications, phonograph, Rontgen-rays, spectrum analysis, anæsthetics, the modern science of chemistry, the laws of molecular constitution of matter, conservation of energy, organic evolution, the germ theory of disease, and many others of the utmost practical importance in modern life.

I submit, my friends, that India's part in this wonderful movement has been shamefully small. Can it be true, as one writer has said, that some " strange feat of arrest, probably due to mental exhaustion, has condemned the people of India to eternal reproduction of old ideals"? I cannot believe that the intellectual power of India is exhausted, nor can I believe that her people are no longer capable of adding to the sum of human knowledge. We have an intense and justifiable pride in the contribution of our sages of bygone days to the philosophic, the literary, and the artistic wealth of world. It should be our chief pride, our supreme duty, and our highest glory, to regain the intellectual supremacy of the ancient days. The atmosphere of the West is throbbing with vigorous mental life. The pursuit of, new truth is the first concern of every stalwart mind of the West

while the mass of our people are content to live stolid, conventional lives, blindly following the precepts of the fathers rather than emulating the example they set of intellectual independence and constructive energy. I cannot do better than close my remark with those fine lines of the poet Mathew Arnold :—

> The East bowed low before the blast
> In patient, deep disdain ;
> She let the legions thunder past,
> Then bowed in thought again.

I would not for a moment have you think, my friends, that I return from the West a convert to Western ideals, or in any sense a pessimist concerning the future of India. There are many defects in the Western civilization that no impartial student of affairs may ignore. The evils that have grown up in the centralizing of population in the great industrial cities constitute, in my judgment ,a serious menace to the future of those races. There are weighty problems of administration, of morals, of public health, which the West, with all its ingenuity, has not been able to solve. There is the internal conflict between capital and labour which is becoming more acute as time goes on. Nor can one visit the great commercial centres of the West without feeling that the air is surcharged with the miasmic spirit of greed. Everywhere the love of display and the sordid worship of material wealth and power has poisoned the minds of the people against the claims of the simple, homely life, which the Indian, in his love for the things of the spirit, has cultivated since history began.

It may be the mission of India, clinging fast to the philosophic simplicity of her ethical code, to solve the problems which have baffled the best minds of the West, to build up a sound economic policy along modern scientific lines, and at the same time preserve the simplicity, the dignity, the ethical and spiritual fervor of her people. I can conceive of no loftier mission for India than this, to teach philosophy to the West and learn its science ; impart purity of life to Europe and attain to her loftier political ideal ; inculcate spirituality to the American mind and imbibe the business ways of its merchant.



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